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THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

CANADIAN

HISTORY READINGS

EDITED AND PUBLISHED

BY

GEORGE UPHAM HAY,

EDITOR OF EDUCATIONAL REVIEW.

FOR SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES, AND GENERAL READERS;
EMBRACING SEVENTY-TWO TOPICS, TREATED
BY TWENTY-SIX WRITERS, INCLUDING
WELL-KNOWN SPECIALISTS.

VOL. I.

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1900.

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By George Upham Hay.

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EDITOR'S NOTE.

The first series of readings in Canadian History, consisting of twelve numbers, is now complete, and is issued in a bound volume, entitled, "Readings in Canadian History, Vol. I." The subjects treated belong, in great part, to the early periods of discovery and conquest of Eastern Canada. Should there be a sufficient demand for the first volume to warrant the continuance of the publication, a second series will follow, dealing with events in the history of Ontario, the North-West and British Columbia, and also with later events in Canada generally.

The publisher desires to express his warm thanks to those who have assisted him by contributing to the series. Especially are his acknowledgments due to Prof. W. F. Ganong, Mr. J. Vroom and Rev. W. O. Raymond, who, in addition to their ever-ready suggestions and valuable advice and criticism, have kindly assisted in the reading of proofs. In short, they have shared the responsibility so fully that he is in doubt whether their names should not appear on the title page as co-editors.

ERRATA.

[Readers are advised to write these errata (in ink) in their proper places in the text.]

Page 28—In third line of second paragraph add the name of G. R. Parkin.

Page 53—A few minor inaccuracies occur in this article, partly through misprints of the two letters. These may all be corrected by comparison with the account in Canadian Archives Report, 1844, p. 359, et seq.

Page 74—In first line of article begun on that page "1872" should be "1672."

Page 79—In the opening paragraph of this article an unintentional injustice is done to the editor of Calnek-Savary's History of Annapolis. The 1897 edition of that word, edited by Judge Savary, contains a full and complete copy of the autobiography of Lieut. Moody, instead of portions "quoted at second-hand from Sabine's History of the Loyalists."

Page 83—Omit "*Saint*" and "St." from first line of footnote. (J. V.)

Page 105—Omit "Viegas" in description of map.

Page 107—Instead of "made by Harley" read "known as the Harleian" in description of map.

Page 128—For "British West Indies" read "British Dominions."

Page 162—Third line for "Enuatinger" read "Ermatinger".

Page 190—Line 5, for "regime" read "régime;" and line 9 from foot of page read "directly" for "direct."

Page 197—Fourth paragraph, for "McDonall" read "McDouall"; also same correction on pp. 198, 200 (ls. 7, 30) and 201.

Page 201—For "Follis" read "Folles."

Page 299—9th line from foot of page for "area" read "era."

Page 313—Line 10 from foot of page for "them" read "then."

Page 315—At the close of Mr. Paltsits' article on the "Captivity of John Gyles," it was intended to add the following note which was accidentally omitted:

"It will interest our readers to know that a new edition of Gyles' Narrative, edited by Mr. Paltsits, to be fully annotated and illustrated by new biographical and other material, is announced as in preparation, by the publishing firm of Dodd, Mead & Co., of New York. This work will be treated in the modern scientific bibliographical spirit of which Mr. Paltsits is a master, and which is so well illustrated in his 'Journal of Captain William Pote, jr.,' published by the same firm. The new edition will give a *verbatim* re-print of the *original printed edition* of 1736. All re-prints hitherto made are corruptions of the text, founded on Samuel G. Drake's distorted text in his 'Indian Captivities,' (Boston, 1839). There will also be printed for the first time a cruder account from a contemporary manuscript (not in autograph of Gyles, but no doubt from his memoranda). The two accounts supplement each other. The book will have an introduction, bibliographical note, appendices, an itinerary, and a full index. Illustrations made from photographs taken in New Brunswick, and from other sources, will embellish the book."

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INTRODUCTION.

The history of Canada is full of incidents of romantic interest, of the details of personal bravery and heroic self-sacrifice, of the struggles of individuals to found for themselves homes amid the wilderness and to obtain that measure of self-government which helps to establish character and independence. The records of these events, so stimulating and full of interest to the youthful imagination, have not been available to the extent that one might wish. The ordinary school text-book of Canadian history is shorn of much of that interest so attractive to the young. It is crowded with details of facts, that have to be condensed in order to provide a book of a certain number of pages, to sell at a moderate price. There are many excellent books which present, with more fulness and with greater interest, the events of the Story of Canada, but they do not come within the reach of the children in our schools.

To make up for this want, a series of Leaflets will be published by the EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, which will present the leading events and persons in our history in such a graphic way as to secure interest and at the same time give instruction. It is hoped that the effort to provide, at a low price, supplementary reading in Canadian history for schools will meet with encouragement at the outset, so that successive series of leaflets, covering all periods of our history and all sections of the Dominion, will be the result. Many leading writers of Canada have promised assistance for the present series, and the names of those who are contributing to the first number should be a guarantee of what may be expected in the future.

The aim, first of all, will be to make history instructive. There is no need to sugar-coat such history as ours by trying to make it fascinating as a story. That is only an attempt to deceive children. Let

Entered according to Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year 1898, by G. U. HAY, at the Department of Agriculture.

EDUCATIONAL REVIEW SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS.

CANADIAN HISTORY.

NUMBER ONE.

INTRODUCTION.
PHYSICAL GROWTH OF CANADA,
G. F. Matthew, D.Sc.
THE LEGEND OF GLOOSCAP,
Jas. Vroom.
CARTIER'S FIRST VOYAGE,
W. F. Ganong, Ph.D.
WINTER AT ST. CROIX ISLAND,
G. U. Hay, Ph.B.
THE STORY OF LADY LA TOUR,
James Hannay.
THE STORY OF THE LOYALISTS,
J. G. Bourinot, C.M.G., LL.D.

March, 1898.

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them be presented with history as history. Let the events tell their own story. Let children, when possible, be brought into contact with original documents, with the historians of the past, and there will soon be a change from the passive hearer of a dull history recitation to the earnest, diligent enquirer after further light.

This Series will make it possible for schools with limited library privileges to do history work in the spirit and method of our best equipped institutions, by introducing them to the original sources of our history, and by awakening a spirit of thoughtful investigation, not only in this study, but in literature and science as well. The passages from original authorities will be so selected as to excite the interest and pique the curiosity of intelligent boys and girls, and stimulate them to further research in the sources of our surpassingly rich collection of historical material. Thus, an enthusiasm will be aroused, a love for Canada, for its history, for its institutions, and a keen sympathy with the perils and sufferings of those who have helped to make it. History so studied will be a happy mean between the delightful amusement of a "fascinating story" and the dry husks of details to be memorized from text-books. If history has not suffered from the former, it has certainly suffered from the latter, in consisting too often of a dreary mass of facts, dates and events with no more coherence than beads upon a string.

Another point that the Series has in view, aside from the value of the historical matter contained in it, is the advantage to students of coming in contact with the style of some of our best Canadian writers, and of historians like Champlain, Parkman and others, thus suggesting to them the true way of writing, as well as studying the events of history.

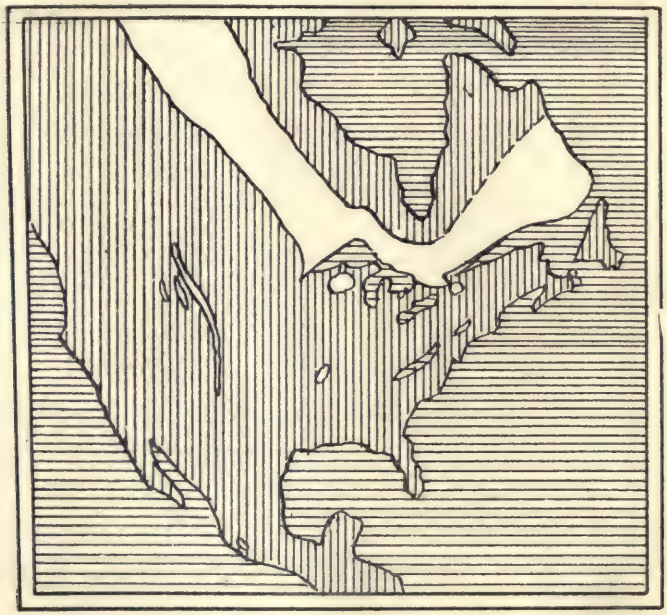
It is upon these lines, then, that the present Series is to be issued, not to take the place of any text-book, but for subsidiary use in our schools, and to aid teachers and students who have limited access to books and documents relating to the history of Canada.

G. U. Hay.

THE PHYSICAL GROWTH OF CANADA.

By G. F. Matthew, D.Sc.

As in the political history of Canada one can trace the growth of the country as a political reality from the two provinces of old Canada to its present state of expansion, so in its physical history the Dominion exhibits a like enlargement. As the two provinces drew to themselves, first, accretions from the southeast, and then added the great domain of the west, so in the earliest geological ages we find an almost continental area in the north as the nucleus to which additions were made on the southeast and the southwest, until a large extent of land was rescued from the inroads of the sea.



Sketch Map of North America (after Dana), showing the "V"-shaped area of Laurentian rocks; this is unshaded. Horizontal lines represent the sea and lakes; vertical lines, the portion of the continent submerged in Laurentian and Huronian times.

The great physiographic features of Canada are the following: 1st, The continental nucleus of the northeast; 2nd, The low plain that surrounds it; 3rd, The high plain sloping up to the foot of the Rocky Mountains; 4th, The corrugated region of the Atlantic Slope; 5th, The corresponding mountain region of the Pacific Slope.

The continental nucleus, which was in the form of a broad V, with its apex southward, consisted of old crystalline, and more or less altered rocks, Laurentian and Huronian, along whose southern shores were deposited, in Cambrian times, the sand and mud swept into the ocean by the rivers which flowed from the incipient continent. Over the sands along these shores crawled crustaceous animals, some of large size,[1] which left their tracks on the surface of the sand, to be covered and preserved by other layers of mud brought in by the flowing tide. After being buried for ages, these tracks have been exposed to view by the removal of their covering, revealing to the curious gaze of man the evidences of the existence in ages long past of creatures of whose form and habits we know nothing save what these tracks reveal. At intervals over the eastern parts of Canada there are exposed ancient marine mud beds of this same Cambrian age. Some layers are replete with the skeletons of myriads of small creatures, some of which[2] were like the king crabs, others[3] like the lamp shells of the modern ocean. Similar skeletons are found in mud beds in the ancient strata of the Rocky Mountains. Thus we know that not only the borders of the continental nucleus were being added to in the old Cambrian times, but that at the same time a strip of country in the Rocky Mountain area was near the sea level, and very probably part of it was above the sea, because such animals live along the seacoast.

In the next period the western area sank beneath the sea, and for a long extent of time played no important part in the physiographic history of Canada. Thus the centre of interest was transferred to the eastern borders of Canada, where contraction of the earth's crust and other disturbing influences ridged up various mountain ranges against the continental nucleus, until the whole eastern border was replete with rugged mountains.

A Canadian Mediterranean was exempt from these disturbances, and remains to our day as the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Just as the present Mediterranean Sea is now partly and was once entirely separated into two basins, so our placid interior sea of the Silurian and Devonian ages was nearly cut in two by the encroachment of the mountain ranges, leaving the gulf area as the eastern limb, and the lake region as a western part, connecting with a shallow sea of great extent, where now the basins of the Mississippi and the "Red River of the North" exist. Around the eastern limb of this ancient Canadian

[1] Protichnites. [2] Trilobites. [3] Brachiopods.

Mediterranean were spread the marshes which gradually, through the Carboniferous ages, entombed the beds of peat and carbonaceous mud, which now exist as the coal beds, from which our precious stores of fossil fuel are derived. All the coal basins in which these deposits of coal are contained physiographically face toward the Gulf of St. Lawrence, except those of Cape Breton, which are just south of its outlet.

In the next chapter of our history the geological events of the eastern region soon become subordinate to those of the west. First, however, the east shows some striking features in the volcanic eruptions which produced the picturesque North Mountains of Nova Scotia. These mountains rest upon an old surface of red sandstones once spread over the area now occupied by the Bay of Fundy and the part of the Gulf of St. Lawrence where the fertile Prince Edward Island now lies.

It is in the west of Canada, however, that the deposits of this secondary, or Reptilian age, show the widest extent and greatest variety. The vast western plains and the Pacific borders show great areas overspread by deposits produced at this time. The Rocky Mountains were upheaved and a great continental belt was formed in Canada, against which were pressed up on the Pacific side rugged mountain ranges corresponding to those which in the preceding ages had been upheaved on the Atlantic side. There is this difference, however, that while the eastern ridges are separated from the old continental nucleus only by the width of the Gulf and Valley of the St. Lawrence, the western mountains are divided from the same nucleus by the great space of the western plains now forming the provinces and territories of Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta, etc.

In the Tertiary, or Mammalian age of geology, we still find the western regions those of greatest interest. In all Eastern Canada, from Lake Superior eastward, there are no deposits to tell us of what was transpiring here or in other regions of the earth at this time, and of which so wide a history has been garnered in other parts of the earth ; but on the western plains, and between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, many an event of that old time has left its record — peaceful on the western plains, but marked by volcanic eruptions and violent disturbances of the earth's crust on the Pacific slope. In this period the Rocky Mountains and the western ranges received the impulses of elevation by which they came to dominate all the mountain ranges of Eastern Canada.

The closing chapter of the great events of the earth's history, known

as the Glacial epoch, is written with great distinctness on the surface of Eastern Canada. For many ages the continental nucleus had had no records inscribed upon it such as tell elsewhere in Canada of the history of the earth, or at least no such records remain ; hence we infer that it was through all this time a continental area raised above the sea. It was protected from the deep oceans by the buttresses of mountain chains which had been built up around it ; and so around its borders within the mountain ranges there were low, level tracts, where in shallow, warm seas there had been deposited in early geological times beds of calcareous mud. These beds, hardened to limestone and shale, in later times were elevated above the sea to form low plains of fertile soil. As though this were not sufficient to give fertility, extensive areas of these plains became the sites of great fresh-water lakes, far more extensive than those that now exist. The black, peaty mud of these lakes, when they in turn were drained of their covering waters, became the rich, peaty bottom lands which cover extensive areas in Ontario, Manitoba, etc. These rich lands, produced at the close of the Glacial period of the geologists, are the rich heritage of Canada which lies around the borders of the old continental nucleus, and are destined in the future to sustain a vast population.

HOW GLOOSCAP FOUND THE SUMMER.

By Jas. Vroom.

The Wabanakis of Acadia, before the coming of the French missionaries, had little or no conception of a Great Spirit ruling over all things. The chief object of their superstitious regard — we may hardly say of their worship — was the mighty Glooscap, whose name, we are told, means the Liar. Such a name, though directly opposed to our usual ideas of a deity, is not surprising to those acquainted with American mythologies. Glooscap, perhaps, was originally a weather god, and therefore very uncertain in his doings, and not always faithful to his promises. A similar being in western legends is known by the name of the Deceiver.

In the Passamaquoddy myths, Glooscap created himself, or came up out of the swamp — which is the Wabanaki notion of chaos. Notwithstanding his evil name, the Wabanakis looked upon him as

their friend and protector. He first called man into being from the heart of the ash tree. He changed and adapted to man's use the already created beasts and birds of the Acadian forests. He was ever on the watch to shield his people from the unseen powers of evil that filled their hearts with dread, and to him they ascribed the regularity of the seasons and the return of migratory birds and fishes. He is the hero of many poetic legends still repeated around the Indian camp fires, of one of which the following is a literal translation :

In the long ago,
When people lived always in the early red morning
Before the rising of the sun,
Before the land of the Wabanaki[1] was peopled as to-day,
Glooscap went very far north, where all was ice.

He came to a wigwam,
Therein he found a giant,
A mighty giant, whose name was Winter.
Glooscap entered. He sat down.
Winter gave him a pipe. He smoked,
And the giant told tales of the olden time.

The charm was upon him ;
The giant talked on, and Glooscap fell asleep.
He slept for six months, like the toad ;
Then the charm fled, and he awoke.

He went his way home.
He went toward the south ; and at every step it grew warmer :
And the flowers began to come up and talk to him.
He came to where many little ones[2] were dancing in the forest.
Their queen was Summer.
I am singing the truth ; it was Summer,
The most beautiful one ever born.

The fairies surrounded their queen ;
But the Master deceived them by a crafty trick ;
He cut a moose hide into a narrow strip and bade them hold one end ;
Then, running away with Summer, he let the end trail behind.
The fairies of light pulled at the cord ;
Glooscap ran on ; the cord ran out ;
And, though they pulled, he left them far away.

[1] The tribes of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Northern Maine.
[2] The flower spirits.

So he returned to the lodge of Winter ;
But now he had Summer in his bosom.
And Winter welcomed him again,
For he hoped to freeze him again to sleep.
I am singing the song of Summer.

But this time the Master did the talking ;
This time his magic was the stronger ;
And the sweat soon ran down Winter's face.
And he and his wigwam melted more and more,
Until they had melted quite away.

Then everything awoke :
The grass grew ; the fairies came out ;
The melted snow ran down the rivers, carrying off the dead leaves,
And Glooscap left Summer with them and went home.

JACQUES CARTIER'S FIRST VOYAGE TO THE EASTERN COAST OF CANADA.

EDITED BY W. F. GANONG, PH.D.

During the half-century which followed the discovery of America by Columbus, in 1492, many expeditions were sent out by European monarchs to explore the shores of the newly-found land, and to try to find a passage to the East Indies. For Canada and Newfoundland these voyages resulted only in the discovery of the outer Atlantic coast, and none of the old maps of the time show clearly either the Gulf of St. Lawrence or the Bay of Fundy. It was not until 1534, when King Francis I. of France sent out Jacques Cartier, one of the boldest and most experienced of French navigators, that the Gulf of St. Lawrence was first made known to the world and appeared upon the maps. Happily, the narratives of Cartier's voyages have been preserved, and, although his maps have been lost, we possess partial copies of them in maps by others which still exist. The narrative of his first voyage is not only historically important as the earliest account known to us of the exploration of any part of our eastern coast, but is at the same time of the greatest interest for its simple and faithful

description of the places he visited and the natives he saw, and for its explanation of the origin of many names of places which we use to this day. A few years ago our historians were in doubt as to his exact route in some parts of the Gulf, for the different versions of his narrative do not agree, and all are obscure in places; but in recent years several scholars have examined and compared the different versions so critically, and have compared them with the old maps so carefully, that almost the entire subject is now perfectly clear.

Cartier left St. Malo, with two tiny ships, April 20th, 1534, and sighted Cape Bonavista, Newfoundland, May 10th. On May 27th he reached the Strait of Belleisle, and later entered the Gulf and coasted along the shores of Labrador as far as the place now called Cumberland Harbor. He was repelled by the rocky barrenness of Labrador, which, he says, "must be the land allotted by God to Cain." He crossed to Newfoundland, which he explored to near the present Cape Anguille, whence he crossed to the Magdalene Islands. After exploring this group he sailed away, on June 29th, to the westward. From this time on we shall let him tell his own story.

The next day, being the last of the month save one, the wind blew south and by east. We sailed westward until Tuesday morning at sunrise, the last of the month, without knowledge of any land, except in the evening towards sunset, when we discovered a land which seemed to be two islands[1], that were beyond us west-southwest about nine or ten leagues. All that day[2] till the next morning at sunrise we sailed westward[3] about forty leagues, and on the way we perceived that the land we had seen like islands was main-land lying south-southeast and north-northwest to a very fine cape of land called Cape Orleans[4] (Cap d'Orléans).

All of the said land is low and flat, and the fairest that may possibly be seen, and full of beautiful trees and meadows; but we could find no harbor there, for it is a low land all ranged with sands. We, with our boats, went on shore in many places, and among others we entered a goodly river, but very shallow, where we saw boats full of savages, who were crossing the river, which on this account we named the River of Boats (ripuiere des barcques)[5]. But

---

[1] The high land near Grenville, Prince Edward Island.

[2] Night is meant.

[3] All of Cartier's directions are by the compass to the magnetic meridian, which is in the Gulf considerably west of the true meridian; hence Cartier's westward means south-westward on our maps. This must be kept in mind for the other directions he mentions.

[4] Now Cape Kildare. The original French name is given in brackets. It was named in honor of the father of the king of France.

[5] Now Richmond Bay.

we had no further acquaintance with these savages, for the wind came up from the sea and so beat us against the shore that we were constrained to retire with our boats to our ships. Till the next morning at sunrise, being the first of July, we sailed northeast, in which time there arose great mists and storms, and therefore we struck our sails until about ten of the clock, when it became clear, and we recognized the said Cape Orleans, and another which lay from it about seven leagues north and by east, which was named Cape of the Savages (Cap des Sauuaiges)[1]. On the northeast of this cape, for about half a league, there is a very dangerous reef and bank of stones. While we were at this cape we saw a man running after our boats that were going along the coast, who made signs to us that we should return towards the said cape again. We, seeing such signs, began to row towards him, but he, seeing us come, began to flee and to run away before us. We landed in front of him, and set a knife and a woollen girdle on a staff for him, and then came to our ships again. That day we ranged along the said land nine or ten leagues[2], hoping to find some good harbor, but it was not possible, for, as I have said already, it is a low land and shoal. We went that day on shore in four places to see the trees, which are marvellously beautiful and sweet smelling; we found them to be cedars, yews, pines, white elms, ash trees, willows, and many other sorts to us unknown, but all without fruit. The grounds, where no woods are, are very fair and all full of peas, white and red gooseberries, strawberries, black raspberries, and wild wheat, like rye, which seemed to have been sown there and cultivated. This land is of the best climate that can possibly be, and very hot. There are there many pigeons and ring-doves and other birds; there wants nothing but good harbors.

The next day, the second of July, we discovered land to the northward of us, which joined on to the said land continuously, and we saw that it formed a bay of about twenty leagues in depth and as much in breadth. We named the bay Saint Lunario (Sainct Lunaire)[3]. We went to the cape on the north[4] with our boats and found the shore so shoal that at more than a league from land there was only a fathom of water. On the northeast of the said cape, about seven or eight leagues, there is another cape[5], and between the two there is a bay, in the shape of a triangle, which is very deep[6], and which, as far as

[1] Now North Point. The French league was somewhat over two-and-a-half of our miles.

[2] Along the northwest coast of Prince Edward Island to near Cape Wolf.

[3] This bay was the head of Northumberland Strait, the triangle between North Point, West Point and Cape Escuminac. As Cartier did not know the land he had been visiting was an island, his mistake was a natural one. It was named for the Saint whose feast-day it was.

[4] Cape Escuminac.

[5] The cape near Neguac Island.

[6] Not deep as to its water, but as to its extension into the land. This was Miramichi Bay.

we could see, lies northeast ; it is all ranged with sands, a very low land. At ten leagues from land there are twenty fathoms of depth. From the said last-mentioned cape to the said bank and cape of land[1] there are fifteen leagues. When we had passed the said cape, we perceived other lands and a cape[2], which, as far as we could tell, lay north by east all in view. That night the weather was bad, with great winds, and we bore small sail until the morning, the third of July, when the wind came from the west, and we sailed towards the north to examine the said land, which is high[3], which lay from us north-northeast beyond the low lands. Between these low and the high lands there extends a great bay and opening[4], where there are fifty-five fathoms of depth in some places, and about fifteen leagues of breadth. And because of the just-mentioned depth and breadth, and change in character of the land, we had hope to find there a passage like that of the Castles[5]. This bay lies east-northeast and west-southwest. The land on the south side of the said bay is as beautiful and as good land, as easy to cultivate, and as full of goodly fields and meadows as any we have seen, and level as a pond ; but that on the north is a high land, mountainous, and all full of forest trees of many sorts ; among others there are many cedars and fir trees, as fine as can possibly be seen, fit for masts for ships of three hundred tons or more. Nor did we see there any place without woods, except in two spots of low land, where there were meadows and very fair ponds. The midst of the said bay is in forty-seven and a half degrees latitude and seventy-three degrees of longitude[6].

The cape of the said land on the south was named the Cape of Hope (Cap d'Espérance)[7], because of our hope of finding there some passage[8]. The fourth day of the month, the Day of St. Martin, we coasted along the land on the north to seek a harbor, and we entered a little bay and creek, altogether open towards the south, where there is no protection against the wind. We named it the harbor of St. Martin (La Couche Sainct Martin)[9]. We remained there from the fourth day of July until the twelfth, and whilst we were there we went, on Monday, the sixth, after mass, with one of our boats, to discover a cape and point of land which lay seven or eight leagues to the west of us[10], to see which way the land trended. And when we were half a league from that point, we saw two companies of boats of savages, who were crossing from one

[1] The point near Neguac Island to North Point.

[2] Probably on Miscou.

[3] The mountains of Gaspe ; the New Brunswick coast is everywhere low in this region.

[4] Bay Chaleur.

[5] Strait of Belleisle.

[6] Longitude was then reckoned from one of the Canary Islands.

[7] Miscou or North Point. It is probable that this name, corrupted and removed, survives in Cape Despair, Gaspé.

[8] A passage to the West.

[9] Now Port Daniel.

[10] Paspebiac Point.

land to the other, more than forty or fifty boats. One of the said companies of boats came to the said point, and a great number of men landed on the shore, and made a great noise, and made signs that we should come on shore, showing us skins on pieces of wood ; and because we had but one boat we would not go to them, but we went to the other company which was on the sea, and they, seeing that we fled, prepared two of their largest boats to follow us, with which also five others of those coming from the sea united, and they came close to our boat, dancing and making many signs of wishing our friendship, saying to us in their language, *Napou tou daman asurtar*, and other words we understood not. But because we had, as has been said, but a single boat, we would not trust in their signs, but made signs to them to draw off, which they would not do, but came towards us in such great force that they completely surrounded us with their seven boats ; and, since they would not draw off for any signs that we could make, we shot off two pieces among them, and they made haste to return to the said point, and they made a wonderfully great noise, after which they commenced to return towards us as before, and when they were close to our boat we discharged two squibs at them, which passed among them and astonished them greatly, so that they took to flight in great haste, and followed us no more.

The next day a part of the said savages, with nine of their boats, came to the point and entrance of the creek where we were at anchor in our ships, and we, being informed of their coming, went with our boats to the said point and entrance where they were. But the moment they saw us they began to flee, making signs that they had come to trade with us, and showed us skins of little value, with which they clothe themselves. We made them signs likewise that we wished them no ill, and two of our men went on land to go to them to carry them knives and other iron wares, and a red hat to give to their chief, and seeing this, a part of them came on shore with their skins and traded with us, and showed a great and remarkable joy to have and to obtain the said iron wares and other things, dancing and making many ceremonies, pouring the sea water on their heads with their hands, and giving us everything they had, so that they went back altogether naked, without a single thing upon them, and they made signs to us that the next day they would come again with other skins.

On Thursday, the eighth of the month, since the wind was not good for going out with our ships, we set our boats in order to go to discover the said bay, and that day we went about twenty-five leagues within it ; and the next day, in the morning, we had good weather, and travelled until about ten o'clock, at which hour we recognized the end of the said bay, at which we were very sorry[1]. At the end of the said bay there are over the low lands other lands with high mountains[2]. Seeing there was no passage we began to return.

[1] Because they had hoped it was an open passage to the west.
[2] That is, mountains to the southward, as well as the northward.

Making our way along the coast, we saw the said savages on the banks of a pond in low land[1], where they were making many fires and much smoke. We went thither, and found that there is a channel of the sea that enters into the said pond, and we placed our boats at one entrance of the said channel. The savages came in one of their boats and brought us pieces of seal already cooked, which they placed on pieces of wood, and withdrew, making signs to us that they gave them to us. We sent two men ashore with hatchets and knives, beads and other merchandise, at which they showed great joy. And then they came in a crowd in their boats to the shore where we were, with skins and whatever they had, to obtain our wares. They were in number — men, women and children — more than three hundred, of which a part of the women who did not come over danced and sang, being in the water up to their knees. The other women, who had crossed to the other coast where we were, came very friendly to us and rubbed our arms with their hands, and would lift the joined hands to heaven, making many signs of joy. And in such manner they reassured us, so that finally we traded hand to hand with them for all they possessed, which is but of small value. We saw that they are people whom it would be easy to convert; they go from place to place, living by capturing fish at the fishing season. Their country is in climate more temperate than Spain, and the most beautiful it is possible to see, and as level as a pond. There is no spot, however little, which, when without trees, does not bear wild wheat, which has an ear like rye, and the corn is like oats, and peas are as thick as if they had been sown and cultivated; and there are gooseberries white and red, strawberries and raspberries, red roses, and other herbs of pleasing and abundant odor; also there are many goodly meadows and good grass, and ponds with great plenty of salmon. I believe, more than ever, that the people will be easy to convert to our holy faith. They call a hatchet in their tongue *cochy*, and a knife *bacan*. We named the said bay the Bay of Heat (La Baye de Chaleur)[2].

Being certain there was no passage through this bay, we made sail, and left the harbor of Saint Martin on Sunday, twelfth of July, to go to discover beyond this bay, and we went to the eastward along the coast.

Here we must end Cartier's narrative. He visited Gaspé, crossed to Anticosti, visited the strait between that island and the Quebec coast, and thence returned through the Straits of Belleisle to France. The next year he returned to the gulf and ascended the St. Lawrence to Montreal, and wintered near Quebec. His narrative of this journey, too, is preserved, and is filled with interesting incidents. No other explorer, not even Champlain, did more for the exploration of Canada than did Jacques Cartier.

[1] Tracadiguash Point.

[2] Often printed incorrectly, as Baye des Chaleurs.

THE WINTER AT ST. CROIX ISLAND, 1604–1605.

EDITED BY G. U. HAY, PH.B.

Samuel de Champlain accompanied the Sieur de Monts in the expedition to found a settlement in Acadia in 1604, with the command from the King of France that "he should prepare a faithful report of his observations and discoveries." From Champlain's vivid narrative of the discovery of the Island of St. Croix, and its occupation by the French during the following winter, the following extracts are made:

From the river St. John we went to four islands, on one of which we landed, and found great numbers of birds,called magpies[1], of which we captured many small ones, which are as good as pigeons. . . Farther west are other islands among them one six leagues in length, called by the savages Manthane[2], south of which there are among the islands several good harbours for vessels. From the Magpie Islands we proceeded to a river on the main-land, called the River of the Etechemins[3], a tribe of savages so called in their country. We passed by so many islands that we could not ascertain their number, which were very fine. Some were two leagues in extent, others three, others more or less. All of these islands are in a bay[4], having, in my estimation, a circuit of more than fifteen leagues. There are many good places capable of containing any number of vessels, and abounding in fish in the season, such as codfish, salmon, bass, herring, halibut, and other kinds in great numbers. Sailing west-northwest three leagues through the islands, we entered a river almost half a league in breadth at its mouth, sailing up which a league or two we found two islands: one very small, near the western bank, and the other in the middle, having a circumference of perhaps eight or nine hundred paces, with rocky sides three or four fathoms high all around, except in one small place, where there is a sandy point and clayey earth, adapted for making brick and other useful articles. There is another place, forming a shelter for vessels from eighty to a hundred tons, but it is dry at low tide. The island is covered with firs, birches, maples and oaks. It is by nature very well situated, except in one place, where, for about forty paces, it is lower than elsewhere; this, however, is easily fortified, the banks of the main-land being distant on both sides some nine hundred to a

[1] *Margos*, Magpies. The four islands which Champlain named the Magpies are now called The Wolves, and are north-east of Grand Manan.

[2] Manan. Known as the Grand Manan in contradistinction to Petit Manan, a small island further west.

[3] The St. Croix River, sometimes called the Scoodic. The Etechemins we now call Passamaquoddies.

[4] Passamaquoddy Bay. From the Indian Pes-kut-um-a-quali-dik, meaning, Place where pollock are.

HABITASION DE L'ILE STE. CROIX.

(From "Champlain's Voyages," published in Paris in 1613. Reduced to four-fifths the size of the original).

A. Lodgings of the Sieur de Monts.
B. General meeting house, wherein the time is passed in rainy weather.
C. The store-house.
D. Lodging of the Swiss.
E. The forge.
F. Lodging of the carpenters.
G. The well.
H. The oven where the bread is made.
I. The kitchen.
L. Gardens.
M. Other gardens.
N. Open place, in the midst of which is a tree.
O. Palisade.
P. Lodgings of the Sieurs d'Orville, Champlain and Champdore.
Q. Lodgings of the Sieur Boulay and other workmen.
R. Lodgings of the Sieurs Genestou, Sourin and other workmen.
T. Lodgings of the Sieurs Beaumont, la Motte Bourioli and Fougeray.
V. Lodging of our priest.
X. Other gardens.
Y. The river which flows around the island.

thousand paces. Vessels could pass up the river only at the mercy of the cannon on this island, and we deemed the location the most advantageous, not only on account of its situation and good soil, but also on account of the intercourse which we proposed with the savages of these coasts and of the interior, as we should be in the midst of them. We hoped to pacify them in the course of time, and put an end to the wars which they carry on with one another, so as to derive service from them in the future, and convert them to the Christian faith. This place was named by Sieur de Monts the Island of St. Croix[1]. Farther on there is a great bay, in which are two islands, one high and the other flat; also three rivers, two of moderate size, one extending towards the east, the other towards the north, and the third, of large size, towards the west. The latter is that of the Etechemins, of which we spoke before. Two leagues up this there is a waterfall, around which the savages carry their canoes, some five hundred paces by land, and then re-enter the river. Passing afterwards from the river a short distance overland, one reaches the rivers Norumbegue and St. John. But the falls are impassable for vessels, as there are only rocks and but four or five feet of water[2]. . . . . Not finding any more suitable place than this island, we commenced making a barricade on a little islet a short distance from the main island, which served as a station for placing our cannon. All worked so energetically that in a little while it was put in a state of defence, although the mosquitoes (which are little flies) annoyed us excessively in our work, for there were several of our men whose faces were so swollen by their bites that they could scarcely see. The barricade being finished, Sieur de Monts sent his barque to notify the rest of our party, who were with our vessel in the Bay of St. Mary, to come to St. Croix. . . .

Some days after, our vessels having arrived and anchored, all disembarked. Then, without losing time, Sieur de Monts proceeded to employ the workmen in building houses for our abode, and allowed me to determine the arrangement of our settlement. . . Then all set to work to clear up the island, to go to the woods, to make the frame-work, to carry earth and other things necessary for the buildings. . . On the 2nd of October . . each had finished his

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[1] The Holy Cross, *Saincte Croix*. From the fact that the location of the island on which the expedition wintered has been disputed we give Champlain's description in full. It is now called Dochet Island.

[2] The description of the environs of the Island of St. Croix, given in the text, is entirely accurate. Some distance above, and in view from the island, is the fork, as it is called. Here is a meeting of the waters of Waweig Creek from the east, Oak Bay from the north, and the St. Croix from the west. These are the three rivers mentioned by Champlain, Oak Bay being considered as one of them, in which may be seen the two islands mentioned in the text, one high and the other low. A little above Calais is the waterfall, around which the Indians carried their bark canoes, when on their journey up the river through the Chiputnaticook Lakes, from which by Eel River they reached the St. John on the east; or on the west, passing through the Mattawamkeag, they reached the Norumbegue, or Penobscot River.

place of abode. Winter came upon us sooner than we expected, and prevented us from doing many things which we had proposed. . . .

The snows began on the 6th of October. On the 3rd of December we saw ice pass which came from some frozen river. The cold was sharp, more severe than in France, and of much longer duration, and it scarcely rained at all the entire winter. I suppose that is owing to the north and northwest winds passing over high mountains always covered with snow. The latter was from three to four feet deep up to the end of the month of April, lasting much longer, I suppose, than it would if the country were cultivated. During the winter many of our company were attacked by a certain malady called the *mal de la terre* — otherwise scurvy[1], as I have since heard from learned men. . . . so that out of seventy-nine who composed our party thirty-five died and more than twenty were on the point of death. The majority of those who remained well also complained of slight pains and short breath. We were unable to find any remedy for these maladies. . . . Our surgeons could not help suffering themselves in the same manner as the rest. Those who continued sick were healed by spring, which commences in this country in May. That led us to believe that the change of season restored their health rather than the remedies prescribed. During this winter all our liquors froze, except the Spanish wine. Cider was dispensed by the pound. The cause of this loss was that there were no cellars to our storehouse, and that the air which entered by the cracks was sharper than that outside. We were obliged to use very bad water, and drink melted snow, as there were no springs nor brooks, for it was not possible to go to the main-land in consequence of the great pieces of ice drifted by the tide, which varies three fathoms between low and high water. Work on the hand-mill was very fatiguing, since the most of us, having slept poorly, and suffering from insufficiency of fuel, which we could not obtain on account of the ice, had scarcely any strength, and also because we ate only salt meat and vegetables during the winter, which produce bad blood. The latter circumstance was, in my opinion, a partial cause of these dreadful maladies. All this produced discontent in Sieur de Monts and others of the settlement.

It would be very difficult to ascertain the character of this region without spending a winter in it; for, on arriving here in summer, everything is very agreeable, in consequence of the woods, fine country, and the many varieties of good fish which are found there. There are six months of winter in this country. The savages who dwell here are few in number. During the winter, in the deepest snows, they hunt elks and other animals, on which they live most of the time; and, unless the snow is deep, they scarcely get rewarded for their pains, since they cannot capture anything except by a very great effort, which

[1] It follows exposure to damp, cold, and impure atmosphere, accompanied by long-continued use of the same kind of food, particularly of salt meats, with bad water. All of these conditions existed at the Island of St. Croix.

is the reason for their enduring and suffering much. When they do not hunt they live on a shell-fish called the cockle. They clothe themselves in winter with good furs of beaver and elk. The women make all the garments, but not so exactly but that you can see the flesh under the arm-pits, because they have not ingenuity enough to fit them better. When they go a-hunting they use a kind of snowshoe twice as large as those hereabouts, which they attach to the soles of their feet, and walk thus over the snow without sinking in, the women and children as well as the men. They search for the track of animals, which, having found, they follow until they get sight of the creature, when they shoot at it with their bows, or kill it by means of daggers attached to the end of a short pike, which is very easily done, as the animals cannot walk on the snow without sinking in. Then the women and children come up, erect a hut, and they give themselves to feasting. Afterwards they return in search of other animals, and thus they pass the winter. In the month of March following, some savages came and gave us a portion of their game in exchange for bread and other things which we gave them. This is the mode of life in winter of these people, which seems to me a very miserable one.

We looked for our vessels[1] at the end of April, but as this passed without their arriving all began to have an ill-boding, fearing that some accident had befallen them. . . . But God helped us better than we hoped, for, on the 15th of June ensuing, while on guard about 11 o'clock at night, Pont Gravé, captain of one of the vessels of Sieur de Monts, arriving in a shallop, informed us that his ship was anchored six leagues from our settlement, and he was welcomed amid the great joy of all.

On the 17th of the month Sieur de Monts decided to go in quest of a place better adapted for an abode, and with a better temperature than our own ; so . . . on the 18th of June, 1605, Sieur de Monts set out from the Island of St. Croix.

[1] These had been sent back to France the previous autumn.

THE STORY OF LADY LA TOUR.

By James Hannay.

Acadia can fairly claim to have produced one heroine who, from her character and achievements, is worthy to be compared with any of those whose names are embalmed in the world's history. She was

not, it is true, a queen, like Semiramis,[1] Boadicea, or the Ranee of Jhansi ;[2] neither was she a religious enthusiast, like Joan of Arc ; nor was she a woman enamored of the din of battle, like the Maid of Saragossa.[3] There is no reason to believe that war and combat had any attractions for her. She is rather to be compared to Maria-Theresa, the Empress-Queen, who became a leader of her people for the sake of her husband and her children. It was to preserve their interests and to save them from ruin that she assumed the part of a warrior and commander, and undertook the defense of her husband's stronghold, Fort La Tour.

Very little is known of Lady La Tour's family, or of the time of her coming to Acadia. Her name was Frances Marie Jacqueline, and it is stated, in a volume published by the Charnisay family, that she was a native of Mons, in France. She was a Huguenot. Her husband, Charles de St. Etienne, Seigneur de La Tour, had come to Acadia with his father in 1609 when a mere boy. The La Tours were people of property in France, but had been ruined by the civil wars which afflicted that country prior to the reign of Henry IV. The elder La Tour was a Huguenot, but his son, the husband of Lady La Tour, seems to have been in his latter years, nominally at least, a

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[1] Wife of Ninus, founder of the Assyrian Kingdom, a woman of extraordinary beauty, passion and military prowess, who flourished nearly 2,200 years B. C., survived and eclipsed her husband, and after a reign of forty-two years abdicated in favor of her son, Ninyas. Much that is written of her is admitted to be mythical.

[2] The ranee, or chieftainess, of Jhansi, a district and walled town of North-western India, put herself at the head of a body of mutinous townsmen, June 4, 1857, and a massacre of Europeans took place at her instigation. During her brief career which followed, this mail-clad amazon led her forces with masculine valor and ferocity. She was slain in battle, June, 1858, a few days before the storming of Gwalior.

[3] Agustina, the "Maid of Saragossa," greatly distinguished herself during the siege of that town by the French in 1808–9, and died at a very advanced age in 1857. She was called *la artillera* from having snatched the match from the hands of a dying artillery man, and discharged the piece at the invaders. She was made a lieutenant in the Spanish army and received numerous decorations. Byron extols her in *Childe Harold*, canto 1, stanzas 54, 55, 56. We quote the last :

"Her lover sinks — she sheds no ill-timed tear;
Her chief is slain — she fills his fatal post ;
Her fellows flee — she checks their base career ;
The foe retires — she heads the sallying host ;
Who can appease like her a lover's ghost ?
Who can avenge so well a leader's fall ?
What maid retrieve when man's flushed hope is lost ?
Who hang so fiercely on the flying Gaul,
Foiled by a woman's hand, before a batter'd wall ?"

[Byron says that when he was at Seville she walked daily on the Prado, decorated with medals and orders, by command of the Junta.]

member of the Church of Rome. This question of religion becomes a matter of some interest, because the fact that Lady La Tour was a Protestant was one of the means used to effect her husband's ruin by prejudicing the Court of France against him.

In 1635 La Tour and his lady were residing in a fort at the mouth of the River St. John, which is usually spoken of in histories as Fort La Tour. The site of this fort has been a subject of controversy; some historical works represent it as having been at Jemseg, but the mortgage of the fort and territory, made in 1645, proves conclusively that it was somewhere about St. John harbor. The site which is generally accepted as the correct one is that piece of ground on the west side of the harbor which lies immediately opposite Navy Island, and which is now known as the "Old Fort." This fort was rebuilt and garrisoned by the English after the capture of Louisbourg in 1758, and was named Fort Frederick.

La Tour's fort at St. John was occupied by a large force of his retainers, its garrison sometimes numbering as many as 200 men. It was the centre of the large trade in furs which he carried on with the Indians, and there he lived, like a feudal lord, with his wife and family, the absolute master of half of Acadia, and holding a commission as lieutenant-general for the King of France in that portion of his dominions. He was likewise the holder of a large grant of territory in Acadia which had been obtained by his father from Sir William Alexander, who held it under a concession granted by the King of England, James I. The connection of the La Tours, father and son, with Sir William Alexander led to their both being made baronets of Scotland by Charles I., and that is why we call the woman who is the subject of this sketch Lady La Tour, and not Madam La Tour, as some writers of history have done. Lady La Tour was the first woman of title to live at St. John, and there seems to be no good reason why she should not receive the proper designation due to her rank.

Unfortunately for La Tour, he was not without rivals and enemies. At Port Royal, the name then given to the modern town and district of Annapolis, lived Charles de Menou, Sieur d'Aulnay Charnisay, who sought to compass La Tour's ruin. Charnisay was also engaged in the fur trade, and he looked with envious eyes on the vast territory which was controlled by La Tour, from which every year he obtained about 3,000 moose skins, besides large quantities of beaver and other furs. Charnisay's fort was on Port Royal Basin, six miles from the

modern town of Annapolis, and there he lived in state, in the same fashion as La Tour, and had even a larger force of soldiers and retainers to carry out his orders. At that time the life and the manners and customs of feudal France were reproduced in Acadia.

Charnisay was a relative of the great Cardinal Richelieu, who then governed France as the minister of Louis XIII., and he succeeded in so poisoning the mind of the French Court against La Tour that in February, 1641, an order was issued requiring him to return to France to answer the charges which had been preferred against him. Charnisay was given authority to seize La Tour's person if he should disobey this order, and to take an inventory of his property. La Tour refused obedience, and Charnisay, having no sufficient force to coerce him, went to France to obtain assistance to carry out the King's orders. In the meantime La Tour had been communicating with his friends in Rochelle with a view to obtaining assistance in the struggle which he knew to be near at hand.

Early in the spring of 1643, Charnisay, with two ships and a galliot and four small craft, manned by five hundred men, attacked Fort La Tour, and, being unable to carry it by assault, proceeded to blockade it. This blockade had lasted several weeks, and supplies were running low, when a vessel, named the Clement, from Rochelle, appeared on the coast. This ship had been sent out by La Tour's friends in France, and she had on board abundance of ammunition and 140 men. Fortunately her presence was not discovered by Charnisay's blockading fleet, and La Tour and his wife succeeded in boarding her in the night, and set sail for Boston, where they hoped to obtain assistance against their enemy. The authorities of Boston refused to grant La Tour any help officially, but they permitted him to hire ships and men to enable him to return to his fort in safety. Taking advantage of this permission, La Tour hired, from Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins of Boston, four vessels, with fifty-two men and thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and he also enlisted ninety-two soldiers to augment the force on board his vessels. When this little fleet made its appearance off Partridge Island Charnisay's ships promptly hoisted sail and stood right home for Port Royal. La Tour and his allies pursued and attacked them, and inflicted considerable loss on the enemy.

Soon after this Lady La Tour went to France to obtain more help against Charnisay, who was more determined than ever to bring about her husband's ruin. Charnisay went to France also to pursue his

plans of vengeance against his enemy, and while there sought to secure the arrest of Lady La Tour, whom he accused of being the cause of her husband's disobedience of the orders of the King. Fortunately she was warned in time, and was enabled to make her escape to England, where she freighted a ship from London with provisions and ammunition for Fort La Tour. She set sail in this vessel for her fort early in 1644, and it is an interesting fact that Roger Williams, the founder of the Providence plantation, was also a passenger. The charter required the captain to sail direct for Fort La Tour, but the master of the ship disregarded its terms, and lingered on the coast of Acadia trading, so that several months were lost. In the meantime Charnisay had become aware that Lady La Tour was on her way to Acadia, and had stationed ships at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy to intercept and capture her. He was fortunate enough to meet the English ship, but Lady La Tour and her people were concealed in the hold, and the master pretended that he was bound direct to Boston, so that the identity of the vessel was not discovered. But the voyage to Fort La Tour had to be abandoned, and so Lady La Tour, late in September, found herself in Boston instead of her proper destination. In this emergency she proved herself equal to the occasion, for she brought an action on the charter party against the persons who freighted the ship, and obtained a verdict of two thousand pounds damages. On this judgment she seized the cargo of the ship, which was valued at eleven hundred pounds, and, hiring three vessels in Boston to convey her home, at length arrived safely at Fort La Tour, from which she had been absent more than a year.

Early in the winter of 1644-45, La Tour found it necessary to go to Boston for supplies, leaving his wife in command of Fort La Tour. The garrison of the fort was known to be very weak, and, in February, Charnisay made an attempt to carry it by a *coup de main*. With a heavily armed ship he entered the harbor of St. John, and laid his vessel in front of Fort La Tour, in the expectation that its flag would be lowered at his summons. But Lady La Tour inspired her garrison with such courage that Charnisay was repulsed, and his vessel so much shattered by the cannon of the fort that, to prevent her from sinking, he had to run her ashore below Sand Point. Twenty of his men were killed and thirteen wounded. Two months later Charnisay made another attempt on Fort La Tour, with a much larger force, and suc-

ceeded in capturing it. The final scene in its story, and the death of Lady La Tour, are thus related in Hannay's History of Acadia:

It was on the 13th April, 1645, that Charnisay began his last attack on Fort La Tour. The Lady La Tour, although hopeless of making a successful resistance, resolved to defend her fort to the last. For three days and three nights the attack proceeded, but the defence was so well conducted that the besiegers made no progress, and Charnisay was compelled to draw off his forces with loss. Treachery finally accomplished what force could not effect. Charnisay found means to bribe a Swiss sentry who formed one of the garrison, and on the fourth day, which was Easter Sunday, while the garrison were at prayers, this traitor permitted the enemy to approach without giving any warning. They were already scaling the walls of the fort before the garrison were aware of their attack. The Lady La Tour, in this extremity, opposed the assault at the head of her men, and repulsed the besiegers with so much vigor that Charnisay —who had lost twelve men killed and many wounded—despaired of taking the fort. He therefore proposed terms of capitulation, offering the garrison life and liberty if they would consent to yield. The Lady La Tour knew that successful resistance was impossible, and she desired to save the lives of those under her command. She therefore accepted the terms which Charnisay offered, and permitted him to enter the fort. No sooner did he find himself in possession of the place, to the capture of which all his efforts had for years been directed, than he disclosed the full baseness of his nature. He caused all the garrison, both French and English, to be hanged, except one man, to whom he gave his life on the dreadful condition that he become the executioner of his comrades in arms. But even the murder of these poor soldiers did not satisfy Charnisay's desire for vengeance. No doubt he would have assassinated the Lady La Tour also had he only dared, but the Court of France, venal as it was, would scarcely have tolerated such an outrage as that. But he did what was almost as bad. He compelled the heroic lady to be present at the execution of her soldiers, with a rope round her neck, like one who should have been executed also, but who by favor had been reprieved. But it mattered little to her what further plans of vengeance her great enemy might design; they had little power to touch her. Her great heart was broken. She was severed from the husband to whose fortunes she had been so faithful, and could scarcely hope to see his face again except as a captive like herself. She felt that her work in life was done, for she was not born for captivity. So she faded away, day by day, until her heroic soul left its earthly tenement, and in three weeks from the time when she witnessed the capture of her fort she was laid to rest by the banks of the St. John, which she loved so well, and where she had lived for so many years. Thus died the first and greatest of Acadian heroines—a woman whose name is as proudly enshrined in the history of this land as that of any sceptred Queen in European story. As long as the sons and daughters of this new Acadia take

an interest in their country's early history, they will read with admiration the noble story of the constancy and heroism of the Lady La Tour.[1]

[1] This noble wife and mother left behind her a little girl, which was sent to France in the care of one of the lady's gentlewomen. What became of this unfortunate infant is not known, but as no further mention is made of it in the genealogies of the family of La Tour, it probably died young.— HANNAY'S HISTORY.

THE STORY OF THE LOYALISTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY J. G. BOURINOT, C. M. G., LL.D.

The migration of that large body of people who sought refuge, at the close of the successful American Revolution, in the possessions which England still owned on the shores of the Atlantic and in the valley of the St. Lawrence, was in many respects one of the most remarkable that ever came into any country. Its members were imbued with many qualities that were calculated to lay deep and firm the foundations of stable institutions and of moral and conservative habits, in the formative period of the Canadian nation's growth. These people were, as some American writers now justly call them, the "unionists" of those days, just as the revolutionists were the "secessionists." In other words, they were the champions of a united British empire in the eighteenth century. They comprised the larger portion of the men and women of culture and wealth throughout the old colonies. As Professor Hosmer has written, the majority "were people of substance, and their stake in the country was greater than even that of their opponents, and their patriotism was to the full as fervent." Their estates were amongst "the fairest in the land; they loved beauty, dignity and refinement; but the day went against them, and they had to crowd into ships with the gates of their country barred forever behind them." At the outbreak of the war they represented at least one-third — others think a majority — of the people of the colonies. Their leaders disapproved, in the great majority of cases, of the indis-

creet and ill-judged measures of the English government, but they believed that there should be a reconsideration of the relations between the colonies and the parent state, and that constitutional methods alone should be followed until the people attained a redress of grievances. They were not prepared to raise the flag of rebellion, but suffered and fought for the maintenance of one free, industrial and pacific empire.

Men and women were treated with great cruelty, even at the time when the questions at issue were still matters for argument and debate, and not for tarring and feathering or mob violence. Some allowance might be made for the heat of passion during the civil war, but no extenuating circumstances appeared at a later period when the conditions of the treaty of peace had to be carried out, and the Loyalists were expected to receive just and humane treatment. At last, however, in the United States themselves, writers deplore the treatment which forced these people to seek other lands.

No less than sixty graduates of Harvard, Yale and other American colleges, men who had occupied the highest positions in the old colonies, descendants of the Puritans of New England, of the Cavaliers of Virginia, and of the Huguenots, found their way to the shores of the Atlantic. The venerable rector of Shelburne, in Nova Scotia, is the youngest son of one of these men, Gideon White, who was the great-grandson of the first born of New England. Joseph Howe was the son of one of the owners of the Boston *News-Letter*, the first permanent paper of America. Miner Huntington, the father of the eminent liberal and friend of Howe, was a member of the Cromwell family. The name of Bayard will be recognized as that of a family of Huguenot descent, which has given not only a learned physician and philanthropic citizen to St. John, but also an eminent statesman to the neighboring republic. The Robinsons, Tisdales, Merritts, and other founders of well-known Ontario families, went first to Nova Scotia, and then at a later date to the West. In the records of the Maritime Provinces we find for a hundred years the names of Ludlow, Putnam, Billop, Oliver, Tyng, Botsford, Peters, Winslow, Chandler, Byles, Stockton, Leonard, Chipman, Wetmore, Parker, Ward, Allen, Upham, Scovil, Robinson, Saunders, Haliburton, Wilkins, Wilmot, Jones, Marshall, Cunard, Blowers, Bliss, Odell, Inglis, and many others almost as distinguished. In the St. Lawrence valley we find Bethune, Stuart, Robinson, Tisdale, Keefer, Hagerman, Ryerson, Cartwright

Merritt, Ruttan, Macaulay, Kirby, Lampman, Vankoughnet, McNab, Burwell, Denison, Bowlby, Carscallen, and very many others well known to Canadian and even Imperial fame.

The first evidences of the influence of the Loyalists in the Dominion were the formation of the two provinces of New Brunswick and Upper Canada, and a large extension of British sentiment immediately throughout British North America. During the war of 1812-14 the Loyalists, who could not save the old colonies to England, did their full share in maintaining her supremacy in the countries she still owned in the valley of the St. Lawrence and on the Atlantic seaboard. With this war the history of the Loyalists, as a distinct class, practically closed. Their children were absorbed amongst the mixed population that flowed into the country from 1815 to 1830. Political parties, with all their abuses, now formed themselves, and the people divided accordingly. In Lower Canada it was a war of races; in Upper Canada largely a contest between a selfish bureaucracy and reformers, who pressed for responsible government. The grievances were undoubted, but not such as to justify the ill-conducted and rash insurrection that followed. In the Maritime Provinces, where the Loyalists predominated, and there was not such a mixed population as in Upper Canada, or a conflict between French and British as in French Canada, the political controversy always took a strictly constitutional course, and the result was favorable to public peace and public liberty from the outset. Joseph Howe, the father of responsible government, and other able descendants of Loyalists, were leaders of the reform party, and they believed in constitutional methods for the redress of public grievances, and not in the establishment of a republic, so wildly attempted in old Canada. As soon as the revolt broke out all classes of loyal Canadians rallied to the support of English supremacy threatened by a few rash men, aided by American raiders.

The descendants of the Loyalists of 1776-1784 may now be estimated at 730,000 souls, or about one-seventh of the total French and English, and about one-fifth of the English-speaking people. In all the vocations of life for a hundred years or more they have filled the most important positions and exercised a powerful influence on the political, material and intellectual development of the whole country. They have given to Canada sixteen Lieutenant-Governors, eighteen Chief Justices, three Prime Ministers of Provinces since 1867, and fifteen Ministers of the Dominion government, including four Finance

Ministers. Of this number seven have been Lieutenant-Governors since Federal union — E. B. Chandler, L. A. Wilmot, R. D. Wilmot, Sir S. L. Tilley, Joseph Howe, Sir R. Hodgson, G. B. Robinson. The Finance Ministers are Sir S. L. Tilley, Mr. Foster, Mr. Fielding and Sir R. Cartwright. Hon. J. W. Johnston, for so many years the able leader of the Conservatives in Nova Scotia, a life-long opponent of Joseph Howe, was to have succeeded that distinguished statesman at Government House in Halifax, but he died in Europe before he could assume the responsibilities of office. Mr. Hardy, Prime Minister of Ontario, is of Loyalist stock on the side of both his parents. The names of the Cabinet Ministers, in addition to those just mentioned, are these: J. H. Pope, W. B. Vail, Alfred Jones — who belongs to a family which has given several distinguished men to Western Canada as well as to New Brunswick — L. Seth Huntington, J. Coffin, W. Macdougall, Joseph Howe, R. D. Wilmot, C. Colby, D. Tisdale, Sir C. H. Tupper — on his mother's side only — and D. Mills, presumably, since his family came first to Nova Scotia during the war. In the various legislative bodies of Canada there are now sixty men who claim the same honorable lineage.

In literature, science and education we find the names of Chas. G. D. Roberts, James Hannay, Bliss Carman, Dr. Theal, G. F. Matthew, Barrie Stratton, W. O. Raymond, G. U. Hay, W. F. Ganong — all belonging to New Brunswick; Sir William Logan, Charles Sangster, A. Lampman, W. Kirby, T. C. Keefer, Rev. Dr. Bethune, Geo. T. Denison; Chancellor Burwash and Professor Badgley of Victoria University; Professors Bain and Welton of MacMaster; Chancellor Harrison of New Brunswick University; and Rev. Dr. Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church of Canada. The role of meritorious performance in law, divinity, medicine and commerce is too long to be given here. It shows, also, how large and influential is that element of the Canadian people who take a pride in the fact that they are connected by ties of blood with the loyal exiles of the last century.

Such questions of taxation, such ignorance of colonial conditions as precipitated an American revolution in the days when the relations of the parent state with her colonies required readjustment, such misunderstandings and blunders as aggravated the political difficulties which existed in Canada until the concession of responsible government, can never again occur under the wise colonial system which has been

adopted during the present reign, and gives every possible expansion to colonial energy and ambition. It took British statesmen more than half a century, from the independence of the thirteen colonies to the concession of responsible government, to learn by experience of colonial conditions the best system to apply to countries which had reached a certain high stage in their material, political and social development. Canada's position in the empire is one of which her people may be justly proud ; but as Canadians review the past, with its many evidences of devotion to the empire, of capacity for self-government, of statesmanlike conception and action in the administration of public affairs, they must not forget how much they owe to the men who laid, firm and deep, the foundations of the national structure. To some of the eminent makers of Canada monuments have been raised, but the vast majority lie in quiet churchyards, where the finger of time has obliterated even their names from the moss-covered stones where once they were rudely chiselled. But, though they are no longer here, their spirit still survives in the confidence and energy with which the people of this Dominion are laboring to develop the great natural heritage which they possess on the American continent, and in the loyalty which they feel for the British crown and empire. Though they are no longer here, their memory should be ever cherished in the country which owes them so deep a debt of gratitude. In the words of an eloquent son of a Loyalist, Joseph Howe, poet, orator and statesman :

"Not here ? Oh, yes, our hearts their presence feel,
Viewless, not voiceless, from the deepest shells,
On memory's shore harmonious echoes steal,
And names which, in the days gone by, were spells,
Are blent with that soft music, if there dwells
The spirit here our country's fame to spread,
While every breast with joy and triumph swells,
And earth reverberates to our measured tread,
Banner and wreath will own our reverence for the dead."

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THE CABOTS AND THEIR VOYAGES.

HARRY PIERS, ASST. LIBRARIAN, LEGISLATIVE LIBRARY, HALIFAX, N. S.

How often we find that genius receives its full recognition only after the lapse of many years, when the death-stilled pulse cannot quicken, even at the winding of Fame's far-reaching trumpet! The quadri-centennial celebration of the discovery of the mainland of America by John Cabot was but a tardy act of justice to the memory of the man to whom Great Britain is primarily indebted for her claims of sovereignty in the New World. Until recently not even a tablet[1] commemorated his name and deed; and almost nothing was definitely known of his life. Everything connected with his career has been associated with the greatest uncertainty and confusion, and it is only after much controversy that we are enabled to unravel some of the tangled threads in the many perplexing stories regarding this fifteenth century voyager.

For a long period it was assumed that John Cabot was a native of Venice, the town in which he spent some of the early years of his life. Recently, however, documents have been discovered which tend to show that he was a Genoese by birth, but that when young he had moved to the chief city of the Adriatic.

The first definite information we have of his life is the record in the Venetian archives that on March 28th, 1476, Joannes Caboto had been naturalized a citizen of Venice. Most of his spare hours were given to the study of cosmography and navigation, and at an early age he was filled with an intense desire to roam to distant lands, marvellous stories of which were on the tongue of every traveller. At one time he visited Mecca, and there heard many remarkable tales of travel and adventure from the Eastern merchants who flocked thither. Such recitals greatly increased his enthusiasm.

Some years previous to 1495, Cabot removed with his family to the old English town of Bristol, and became a British subject. This port was then famous for its maritime enterprise, and even at that period it had considerable trade with Iceland. Such a place was well in accord with his adventurous spirit.

[1] At a meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, held in Halifax in June, 1897, a tablet was placed in the Province Building in commemoration of Cabot's discovery.

The whole civilized world was then ringing with the fame of what has proved to be the greatest deed in the whole annals of geographic discovery. The paramount genius and courage of the illustrious Columbus had just planted the banner of Spain on the islands of a new continent across the dreaded Dark Ocean. It was then thought that the East Indies had been reached, and the news stirred to a remarkable degree the speculative and intrepid navigators of the age, whose great aim was the discovery of a new road to the rich land of India. Even at the English court, saith Cabot's son, "all men affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human to sail by the west to the east."

The long dormant theory of the roundness of the earth and the possibility of a westerly route to India were accepted by the keen-witted Genoese at Bristol, and he longed to emulate the achievements of his countryman, and to test practically certain bold cosmographic theories which had been developed in his own contemplative and daring mind. The passion for discovery was in possession of him who had so long been dreaming of marvellous lands beyond the sea.

Cabot probably was poor and uninfluential, and consequently he desired a patron who would assist his designs financially and give them suitable authority. Naturally he looked to his adopted sovereign for such support. Henry VII. was then on the throne of England; and it would be difficult to find a more penurious monarch, or one in temperament more unfitted to become the patron of such a noble undertaking as Cabot had in view.

In 1495 the Bristol navigator laid before the throne proposals for discovery which rivalled those of Columbus, and craved royal approval of the project. The petition was as follows:

"Please it your Highnes of your most noble and habundant grace to graunt unto John Cabotto, citizen of Venese, Lewes, Sebastyan and Sancto, his sonneys, your gracious letters patentis under your grete sele in due form, to be made according to the tenour hereafter ensuying[1] . . . . and they shall during their lyves pray God for the prosperous continuance of your most noble and Royal Astete, long to enduer."

Such is the quaint wording and spelling of the earliest document extant definitely connecting England with the New World.

The King was evidently jealous of the glorious achievement of Columbus under the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella; and his

[1] This portion of the document is lost.

vanity made him ready to sanction a rival expedition, but only so long as no demands were made on the privy purse, and only on condition that he should receive a good share of any profits that might accrue. Letters patent, dated March 5th, 1496, were accordingly granted to Cabot and his sons permitting them to sail to any country or sea of the east, west and north, under the English flag, with five ships and any number of men — but all at their own expense — to look for lands which were unknown to Christians. They were to raise the Royal banner in any land they might discover, and to take possession and exercise jurisdiction in the name of the King of England. The patentees were given the exclusive right to visit the countries discovered and to trade with them. One-fifth of the net income from the expedition was reserved to the crown. The Cabots and their heirs were to have the lands they found and occupied in perpetuity as subjects and vassals of the King.

This was the substance of the Latin document under authority of which Cabot sailed, and whereby he received from his royal patron not one copper in assistance of an undertaking the praise of which was to echo down the centuries, coupled with denunciations of Henry's miserly aid.

In June, 1496, Columbus returned to Spain from his second voyage, bringing further reports of islands discovered. This increased Cabot's ardour. After some delay the English expedition was ready for sea; and finally, about the end of May, 1497, Cabot sailed down the Bristol Channel and stood for the open sea. He was in command of a bit of a vessel, called the "Matthew," of about fifty tons, being only as large as a medium-sized schooner of the present day. It was a tiny craft to face the dangers of such a perilous voyage. The crew consisted of eighteen men.

The "Matthew," after passing Iceland, sailed northward, and then finally headed toward the west — that region upon which was then directed the gaze of the civilized world, and which was associated in every man's mind with no little superstitious dread.

Whether Sebastian accompanied his father on this voyage is not positively known; but if he did he was too young to have taken any prominent part in the planning or direction of the expedition, and therefore the entire glory must be bestowed upon the elder Cabot.

The log-book of the "Matthew" is not believed to be in existence, and other sources of information are exceedingly meagre and confused;

consequently we know almost nothing of a voyage which was destined to become one of the most famous in the history of maritime discovery. At early morn on June 24th — being St. John the Baptist's day — after having been about fifty-three days out of Bristol, the "Matthew" first sighted land. Cabot thought he had reached Cathay, in the east of Asia, and visions of India and its riches rose before him. Greater, however, was to be his renown than if he had merely found a western passage to the East, for he had fathomed the marvellous and well-kept secret of the Occident — he had opened to the Old World the mainland of a new and boundless continent, the very existence of which had never been dreamed of by the most imaginative cosmographer or mariner of the fifteenth century.

Cabot landed and erected a cross, and beside it unfurled the banners of St. George and St. Mark, and took formal possession in the name of Henry of England. On that day began the claim of Britain in the New World.

The location of the landfall has been the subject of much vehement controversy. Portions of the coast of Labrador and of Newfoundland have each had their advocates; but I think most writers now agree that some portion of the Island of Cape Breton is the right situation, and there cannot be a doubt but that such evidence as we now have points to that locality. Dr. S. E. Dawson, whose exhaustive and able articles have done very much to clear away the uncertainty which attaches itself to nearly every particular of the Cabot voyages, considers that Cape Breton, on the eastern side of the island of that name, is the exact situation of the landfall.

One of the documentary evidences in favor of the Cape Breton Island landfall is an engraved *mappemonde* now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It bears the date 1544, and there are reasons for believing that Sebastian Cabot was indirectly responsible for some of the information it contains. At or near the extremity of what is evidently intended to represent the present Island of Cape Breton are inscribed the words *Prima tierra vista* (first land seen), and an inscription elsewhere on the chart informs us that this land was discovered by Cabot. If the authority of that map is in the main unquestioned, there can be no doubt regarding the approximate location of the landfall. All, however, do not admit its claims to accuracy, although the balance of opinion is in favour of the theory it supports. It must be remembered, though, that the claims of Cape

Breton can be advocated by arguments entirely aside from this map.

Until some new document is discovered, the controversy must rest, with by far the strongest evidence pointing to the Cape Breton Island landfall, and with the probability of its having been at or near the easternmost cape of the island. The Newfoundland and Labrador theories cannot stand the test of such arguments as have been brought against them.

There is another question connected with the landfall that must be referred to. On the day on which land was sighted, Cabot also discovered an island over against the landfall. This island he called St. John, in honour of the saint on whose anniversary it was found. For some time it has been considered that this island was the present

Map of the Cape Breton Island Landfall.

Prince Edward Island, an error that has been creeping into our histories and guide-books. Dr. Ganong and Dr. Dawson have pretty effectively shattered this idea. If the Cape Breton landfall theory is correct, Cabot's island of St. John was most likely the present Scatari Island.

Soon after landing on *prima tierra vista*, Cabot's provisions ran short, and he was obliged to turn homeward. About the beginning of August he sighted England, and soon after cast anchor before Bristol, having been absent about three months.

The news of the discovery spread with great rapidity, and for a time Cabot found himself a very famous man. It must be remembered,

however, that not even the voyager himself then suspected that the mainland of a new continent had been reached. He reported that he had landed on the seaboard of Cathay, and a contemporary document speaks of the King having acquired a great part of Asia without a stroke of the sword. It was only in later years that the full importance of his achievement became manifest.

Though the whole of Europe rang with Cabot's praise, Henry VII. showed but little gratitude toward the bold navigator. In the privy-purse accounts of Henry—still preserved in the British Museum—we find the following curt entry: "August 10th (1497), To hyme that founde the new Isle, £10." No other official recognition of this great deed exists. "The stingy monarch," as one author writes, "no doubt considered that he had amply rewarded Cabot, little thinking that the entry referred to would post his own niggardliness for the scorn of posterity." It is true that at a later period Henry thought fit to further reward the discoverer with an annual pension of £20, but this was to be paid from the funds of the Bristol Custom House. It has been rightly said that the discovery of a continent was, after all, cheap at such a price.

In February, 1498, John Cabot obtained new letters patent authorizing a second and more extensive expedition of six ships. The intention was to colonize the new lands and to barter with the natives, and also to endeavour to find the much-desired route to India. The expedition sailed in the spring of 1498, about the time when Columbus departed on his third voyage. John was in command, and with him were his son Sebastian and about three hundred other men. From thenceforth John Cabot is lost to sight, and we hear only of Sebastian. No man knows how, when or where the discoverer of the American mainland met his death or where his body rests. Some think he must have died during the voyage. It is to be hoped that future research may bring forth definite particulars of the end of this worthy man.

It is fairly certain that the second voyage was in a northern and northwestern direction, to a region of ice and continual daylight, in which case the second landfall was probably somewhere on the Labrador coast. It seems that the presence of ice forced the ships to turn, and they coasted southward until they reached the vicinity of the present Cape Hatteras. Failing to discover the desired passage to the land of silk and jewels, and provisions being low, they set sail for home, and arrived there some time after September, 1498.

We subsequently find Sebastian in command of another expedition in search of the western route to the East, for which purpose he sailed to the northwest. In 1518 he was made pilot-major of Spain, and in 1526 he sailed from San Lucar, with the intention of following Magellan's route to the Maluccas. Subsequently he returned to England, and engaged in various commercial enterprises. His death occurred about 1557, and, like his father, he reposes in an unknown grave. Sebastian's character was not free from vain-glory, and he has been charged, and apparently not without justice, with detracting from the honour which properly belongs to the elder Cabot in order to magnify his own achievements.

The Cabots were both deep thinkers, and they possessed the courage and enthusiasm necessary to carry out their bold and novel projects. In this respect the father surpassed the son, for it was the former who first grappled with the stupendous cosmographical questions of the age, and who bent his energies to test the advanced theories he held.

The discovery of the mainland of America was accomplished in June, 1497, when the Bristol navigator first discerned the land on his western horizon; the foundation of British dominion in the New World began on the same day with the raising of the English "Jack" on these shores; yet the man to whom we are indebted for these two signal deeds has hitherto received but a small part of the honour he deserves, and even the spot in which his bones repose is utterly unknown to posterity. "He gave a continent to England, yet no one can point to the few feet of earth she has allowed him in return."

THE SETTLEMENT OF PORT ROYAL.

ADAPTED FROM CHAMPLAIN'S NARRATIVE, BY G. U. HAY, PH.B.

Early in the summer of 1604, de Monts and Champlain entered the Bay of Fundy (Baye Françoise), looking for a place which they could fortify, and on which they could build a secure shelter for the coming winter. They sailed along the northwest coast of Nova Scotia. Champlain, in his narrative of the expedition, says:

We entered one of the finest harbours I had seen along these coasts, in which two thousand vessels might lie in security. The entrance is eight hun-

dred paces broad ; then we entered a harbour two leagues long and one broad, which I have named Port Royal[1]. Three rivers empty into it, one of which is very large, extending eastward, and called Rivière de l'Equille[2], from a little fish of the size of an *esplan*, which is caught there in large numbers, as also the herring and several other kinds of fish found in abundance in their season. This river is nearly a quarter of a league broad at its entrance into the basin, where there is an island[3], perhaps half a league in circuit, and covered with wood, like all the rest of the country, as pines, firs, spruces, birches, aspens, and some oaks, although the latter are found in small numbers in comparison with the other kinds. There are two entrances to the above river, one on the north, the other on the south side of the island. That on the north is the better. . . .

. . Between the mouth of the river and the point to which we ascended (about fourteen or fifteen leagues) there are many meadows, which are flooded at the spring tides, many little streams traversing them from one side to the other, through which shallops and boats can go at full tide. This place was the most favorable and agreeable for a settlement that we had seen. There is another island[4] within the port, distant nearly two leagues from the former. At this point is another little stream, extending a considerable distance inland, which we named Rivière St. Antoine[5]. . . The remaining river is only a small stream filled with rocks, which cannot be ascended at all on account of the small amount of water, and which has been named Rocky Brook.[6]

No settlement was made at Port Royal this year (1604) by the de Monts' expedition. After exploring the harbour of Port Royal and a portion of the Annapolis River, the voyageurs sailed along the Bay of Fundy to Cape Chignecto, which they called the Cape of Two Bays — that is, where the bay is bifurcated. Their object was to seek a place for a permanent settlement, and also to find the copper mine which was said to have been discovered a year before by a "certain Prefert of St. Malo, by aid of the savages of the country. . . . We found none, nor did we recognize any resemblance to the descrip-

[1] The name of the Basin, not the place of habitation, afterward so called.

[2] Now the Annapolis River, called by Lescarbot Rivière du Dauphin. *Equille*, a local name in Northern France of the fish called *lancon*.

[3] Now called Goat Island, about nine miles from Digby. Champlain on his map gives it no name, but Lescarbot calls it Biencourville.

[4] Bear Island. Lescarbot calls it Claudiane. It was sometimes called Ile d'Hébert, and Imbert Island, (pronounced eem-bare). Laverdière (editor of Champlain's Voyages) suggests that the present name is derived from the French pronunciation of the last syllable of Imbert.

[5] Bear River. Lescarbot calls it Hébert, and Charlevoix (Jesuit missionary and historian) Imbert.

[6] Moose River. It is a few miles east of Bear River.

tion of the harbour he had given us." This was near the entrance to the "Bay of Mines" (Minas Channel and Basin), which they purposed to visit afterwards and investigate more completely. They retraced their steps, and, rounding the "cape of the two bays," crossed the other bay (Chignecto), to where "there are two rivers" (Cumberland Basin and Shepody Bay). Thence they sailed west to Quaco River and Cape. Champlain mentions the mountain (Theobald), a short distance inland from Quaco, having the shape of a cardinal's hat (*Le Chapeau de Cardinal*). Sailing southwest they came, eight leagues farther on, to "a fine bay running up into the mainland . . at the mouth of the largest and deepest river we had yet seen, which we named the River St. John, because it was on this saint's day that we arrived there. By the savages it is called Ouygoudy."[1] Champlain did not explore the river farther up than the islands at the head of the Falls, but continued his westerly course to Passamaquoddy Bay. [His description of finding the Island of St. Croix and wintering there is given in Leaflet No. I. of this series].

The spring and summer of 1605 was spent in exploring the coast of New England as far south as Cape Cod. Finding no place suitable for a settlement, and determined to seek another location after their sufferings on the Island of St. Croix, de Monts transported the framework of the houses to Port Royal. After a careful search no place was found more suitable than that on which they had encamped for a few days the previous summer, being slightly elevated and with good springs of water around it.

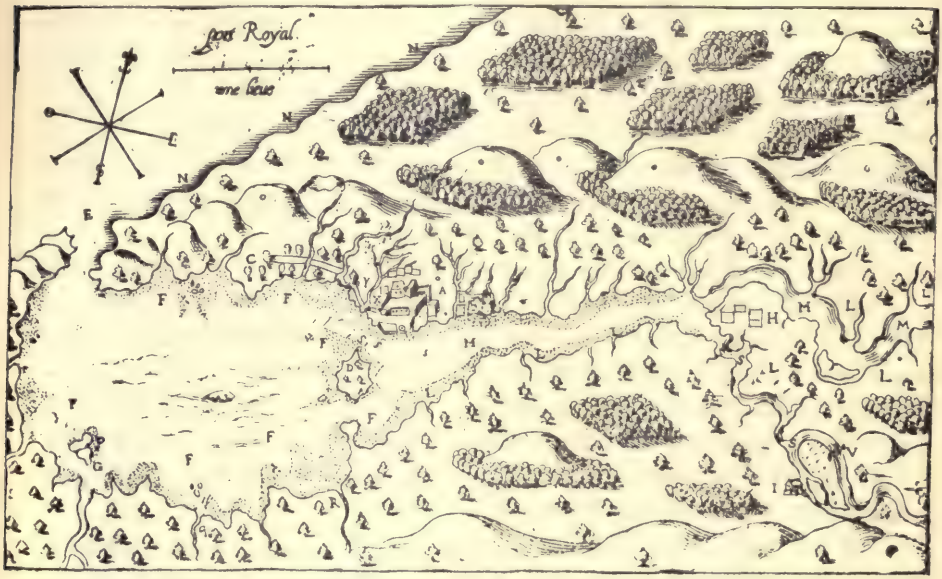
When most of the preparations had been made for winter, de Monts returned to France, leaving Pont Gravé, his lieutenant, in command. The winter of 1605–6 proved milder than the previous one, and the sufferings from cold and sickness much less; although, out of the number of forty-five, twelve died from scurvy (*mal de la terre*). The following is Champlain's brief reference to the events of the winter:

On the 20th of December it began to snow, and some ice passed along before our settlement. The winter was not so sharp as the year before, nor the snow so deep, nor of so long duration. Among other incidents, the wind was so violent on the 20th February that it blew over a large number of trees, roots and all, and broke off many others. It was a remarkable sight. The rains were very frequent, which was the cause of the mild winter in comparison

[1] The true Indian name of the St. John is *Wool-as-took*. Ouygoudi (or Wigudy) means simply a camping-ground or village site. Champlain must have mistaken this name of the Indian village at St. John for the name of the river.

with the past one, although it is only twenty-five leagues from Port Royal to St. Croix.

In July of the following summer the company, reduced by sickness and in need of supplies, started to return to France, leaving two men in charge of the settlement at Port Royal. On reaching Cape Sable they met Ralleau, the secretary of de Monts, who informed them that the Sieur de Poutrincourt, as lieutenant general, was on his way to Port Royal with fifty men. On returning to Port Royal, Champlain and his men, to their great joy, found them already there.



PORT ROYAL.

CHAMPLAIN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE MAP.

A. Our habitation [on the present site of Lower Granville].
B. Garden of Sieur Champlain.
C. Road through the woods that Sieur de Poutrincourt had made.
D. Island at the mouth of Equille River.
E. Entrance to Port Royal.
F. Shoals, dry at low tide.
G. River St. Antoine [the stream west of St. Antoine is Jogging River].
H. Place under cultivation for sowing wheat [site of present town of Annapolis].
I. Mill that Sieur de Poutrincourt has made.
L. Meadows overflowed at highest tides.
M. Equille River.
N. Seacoast of Port Royal.
O. Ranges of mountains.
P. Island near the River St. Antoine.
Q. Rocky Brook.
R. Another brook [Morris River].
S. Mill River [Allen River], sometimes incorrectly oalled L'Equille.
T. Small Lake.
V. Where savages catch herring in the season.
X. Trout Brook [Shäfer's Brook. The first on the west is Thorne's, and the second Scofield's Brook].
Y. A lane that Sieur de Champlain had made.

As it was too late in the season to seek another site for a settlement, Poutrincourt decided to remain the coming winter at Port Royal, and sent laborers to work on the land about a league and a half farther up the Annapolis River, where the French had first thought of making their abode. A second voyage of discovery was made along the New England coast[1] as far south as Martha's Vineyard. Champlain's description of the voyage, and their meetings with the Indians, some of whom proved hostile, and his invaluable record of the character, manners and customs of the aborigines, are full of interest.

On their return to Port Royal[2] they made preparations for the winter, which proved milder than that of the two preceding years, although the spring was backward. "On the 10th of May it snowed all night, and towards the end of the month there were heavy hoar frosts, which lasted until the 10th or 12th of June, when all the trees were covered with leaves, except the oaks, which do not leaf out until about the 15th."[3]

Although seven died from the scurvy during the winter of 1606–7, the little company spent the time much more happily than during the previous winters, as the following extract from Champlain's narrative may show:

We spent this winter very pleasantly, and fared generously by means of the Ordre de Bon Temps, which I introduced. This all found useful for their health, and more advantageous than all the medicines that could have been used. By the rules of the order a chain was put, with some little ceremonies, on the neck of one of our company, commissioning him for the day to go a-hunting. The next day it was conferred upon another, and thus in succession. All exerted themselves to the utmost to see who would do the best and bring home the finest game. We found this a very good arrangement, as did also the savages who were with us.[4]

[1] Champlain regrets the decision of Poutrincourt to go over the ground passed by de Monts the year before, instead of sailing directly to Cape Cod, and thence continuing their explorations southward.

[2] Lescarbot and the others who had stayed there welcomed them with a humorous entertainment, at which a play — *Le Theatre de Neptune* — composed by Lescarbot, was acted.

[3] It would be interesting to compare the spring of 1607 with that of 1898. This year, over a fortnight before the dates mentioned by Champlain, the valley of the Annapolis was white with apple blossoms. But seasons vary; and there is no good reason to suppose that any marked change of climate has occurred.

[4] "The fifteen gentlemen who sat at the table of Poutrincourt, the governor, comprising the whole number of the order, took turns in performing the duties of steward and caterer, each holding the office for a single day. With a laudable ambition, the

PHYSIOGRAPHY OF NOVA SCOTIA.

By A. H. MacKay, LL. D., Halifax, N. S.

Everything points to the conclusion that the earth must have been contracting in its central parts, for its present skin is so wrinkled and folded that it must be looked upon as the original covering of a larger sphere. These wrinklings naturally show a parallelness such as we would expect according to this hypothesis. The Province of Nova Scotia is at present the crest of a low ridge rising (at some points about 2,000 feet) above the Atlantic for a length of about 370 miles, with an average width of about sixty miles. This ridge, interrupted by the Strait of Canso, falls suddenly from a height of over a thousand feet above the water at Cape North to as much below in Cabot's Straits before it reappears in Newfoundland beyond. The submarine valley separating this ridge from the more elevated ridges forming the mainland is seen in the Bay of Fundy, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the Strait of Belle Isle. When the crinkled surfaces of the continents rise too high above the general level of the surface of the globe, the tremendous pressure causes them to sink, with the inevitable bulging out of another part of the surface to the same extent. From such causes the various wrinkles of the earth's surface are constantly either rising or falling for vast periods of years, the higher the rise the nearer

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Grand Master for the time being laid the forest and the sea under contribution, and the table was constantly furnished with the most delicate and well-seasoned game, and the sweetest, as well as the choicest, varieties of fish. The frequent change of office and the ingenuity displayed, offered at every repast, either in the viands or mode of cooking, something new and tempting to the appetite. At each meal a ceremony becoming the dignity of the order was strictly observed. At a given signal the whole company marched into the dining-hall, the Grand Master at the head, with his napkin over his shoulder, his staff of office in his hand, and the glittering collar of the order about his neck, while the other members bore each in his hand a dish loaded and smoking with some part of the delicious repast. A ceremony of a somewhat similar character was observed at the bringing in of the fruit. At the close of the day, when the last meal had been served and grace had been said, the master formally completed his official duty by placing the collar of the order upon the neck of his successor, at the same time presenting to him a cup of wine, in which the two drank to each other's health and happiness. These ceremonies were generally witnessed by thirty or forty savages, men, women, boys and girls, who gazed in respectful admiration, not to say awe, upon this exhibition of European civilization. When Membertou, the venerable chief of the tribe, or other sagamores were present, they were invited to a seat at the table, while bread was gratuitously distributed to the rest."—*Voyages of Samuel de Champlain.*

the period of renewed falling. What is now the province of Nova Scotia was more than once a part of the mainland, a peninsula, an island, and a submarine bank. Its area now is about 21,000 square miles in round numbers, or over 13,000,000 of acres, and it changes every day. The sea and the running streams are lessening the land every hour, and the tides in opposition are in many places building up marsh lands. But there is another power, more mysterious than either, pulling the whole peninsula down beneath the water, and it is going, going — slowly, and we don't know for how long, or whether it may change its rate, or plunge.

The Sunken Forest.

On the southern side of the isthmus connecting the province with New Brunswick and the continent, the stumps of trees — spruce, beech, pine and tamarac — forming forests are found from twenty to thirty feet below high-water mark, where they could never have grown under present conditions. In the excavations for the Ship Railway across the isthmus, I have myself seen the stumps of large trees at a depth of twenty feet below the surface of the land, and below the surface of high water, and I have dug around such a stump until I reached the layer of soil which formed the surface of the land into which its roots and those of its fellows grew long before even the Acadian was in the land. Although this evidence of modern subsidence is the most striking, it is not the only evidence. The sunken forests evidently belong to the present order of things, although they antedate history and tradition.

The Pleistocene.

But there is below the sunken forests, and spread in varying degrees of thickness over the planed, scratched and sometimes gravel-polished rock which lifts the province out of the water, what we call the soil. This is an older formation still, when no forest could have grown, for we find great banks of clay, with huge boulders baked up in them, without any order, just like what we find glaciers making at the present day, when they shove before them masses of powdered stone and mud. Then we find banks of stratified gravels, sands and clays, the result of the action of the water on the seashore or of the rivers and streams in the valleys and plains. In some of the beds we find the Arctic sea shells Tellina or Saxicava, which show that they were formed originally under the sea with an Arctic temperature. That

also helps to explain the rubbing away of the rocks by glaciers streaming slowly down the mountain sides, as well as the carrying of rocks from the coast of Labrador to be dropped over the sea bottom where Prince Edward Island now rises, as well as on Nova Scotian land. It also indicates how some of the minerals from the Blomidon range should be found scattered over the province in a broad band out to the Atlantic coast. In many places these masses of gravels and boulder clays were cemented into loose conglomerates, or even rock. Sometimes they filled old ravines gouged out of the solid rock by the action of glaciers which appeared to have vanished, only to be succeeded by another glacial age when only a portion of the old valley was scooped out, the later ravine to be filled in with a different gravel of another retreating glacial period. But even in this age there were times and places where forests were growing, for the huge American mastodon was at some portion of this period browsing in the woods of Cape Breton, before he lay down to die in the valley of the Middle River near Baddeck. One of his thigh bones wanting only an inch of four feet is now in the Provincial Museum at Halifax.

The Triassic.

Going another great step back in time we come to the rock which could not be rolled around and mixed up again and again, now by river action, now by sea, and now by glacier; and we find the province lying lower in the water than it is now, but practically of the same general form, although an island. The Bay of Fundy opened clear into the gulf, and the arms of the Minas Basin extended wider east and west from the Salmon River to Annapolis Basin. On its bottom was deposited the red sandstone material which was later raised up above the water and again mostly worn down by the action of stream and river and open gulf water until on the Northumberland Strait the soft deposit was washed away, leaving the red sandstone only on the elevated bank which became Prince Edward Island. It was during this time the shrinking earth crust cracked along the North Mountain range and belched forth the volcanic ash and lava forming the so-called trap of to-day. This was the last of the volcanic eruptions which convulsed the foundations of the province so often before.

The Carboniferous.

Many milleniums before this last period the whole province was lower still in the water. The whole coast line from Cumberland to

Cape Breton was submerged, and the waters of the ocean dashed up against the sides of the Cobequids and the highlands of Pictou, Antigonish, and the island of Cape Breton, and swept around the Cobequids as far south at least as the County of Halifax, perhaps further. The climate was tropical. Ferns and tree ferns, giant club mosses, and curious reptiles abounded. Tremendous tropical freshets tore down the mountain sides and laid in the sea the beds of sandstone, and shales, covered up the coral reefs and banks with shell-fish, filled lagoons and lakes with deported vegetation, and covered up now and again peat swamps with fathoms of vegetable matter, forming the coal producing basins of to-day. The islands and highlands worn away by the carboniferous seas were mostly bounded by

Devonian and Silurian

rocks, the relics of still older seashores which flanked the Cobequids, then a newly-formed range of mountains, and the highlands generally north of a line drawn from the region of the Annapolis Basin to Chedabucto Bay, near Canso. As in the Carboniferous, we find a special development of limestones, marbles, gypsum and alabaster, as well as coal and several other minerals, in the Devonian and Silurian we find the special development of iron deposits, as at Londonderry, Nictau, Torbrook, East River (Pictou), and so forth.

The Cambrian.

South of the line from Chedabucto Bay to the Annapolis Basin, the oldest rock found to a great extent in the foundation of the province occupies the surface. If it was submerged and covered with the deposits of the periods already mentioned, all such deposits have been thoroughly scoured off into the Atlantic, except what was left upon it during the Pleistocene ; and extensive regions bear little else than stones and great boulders on top of the barren rock. But it is the region of gold. Its strata, several thousand feet thick, rose into great wrinkles or folds parallel to the general folding — no less than eight between the mouth of Halifax harbour and Mount Uniacke in Hants. But glacial action planed them off level, so that in the middle line of each fold, strata, hundreds and even thousands of feet deep in other places, come to the surface. The most of our gold mines are found in the proximity of these anticlines, as they are called. But there was

even more tremendous volcanic action in these earliest times than when the North Mountains appeared. Vast masses of granite burst through the strata at various points from Guysboro and Halifax to Yarmouth, covering a great part of the interior of the Counties of Kings, Annapolis, Digby, Yarmouth, Shelburne and Queens, and in some places running out to the coast.

AN ACADIAN MARCHIONESS.

By James Hannay.

Not many years ago a steamboat plied on the waters of the St. John river which bore the unfamiliar name of Soulanges. Many persons wondered for whom this vessel was named, and some, no doubt, supposed that it was called after one of the counties of Quebec ; but the name had a different origin. The Soulanges was named after a man who, more than two centuries ago, was commandant, or acting governor, of Acadia, and who occupied the old fort in Carleton, which was consecrated by the heroism of Lady La Tour. Soulanges, himself, made no great figure in Acadian history, but he was the father of a woman who became a French marquise, or marchioness, and who was the wife of one governor-general of Canada and the mother of another, a distinction which no other woman born in New France has ever enjoyed. The proper name of the person, who is known in Acadian history as Soulanges, was Pierre de Joibert, and he was a native of the little town of Soulanges, in the old French province of Champagne. He was an officer in one of the French regiments stationed in Canada, and he had married Marie Francoise, one of the daughters of Chartier de Lotbiniere, who was then attorney-general of New France. Joibert, who at that time had assumed the territorial title of Soulanges and de Marson, first came to Acadia with the Chevalier de Grand-fontaine in 1670, when the Acadian forts were restored by the English to the French under the treaty of Breda. Grand-fontaine had been appointed governor of Acadia, and Soulanges was second in command. He

received the surrender of Fort Jemseg, on the St. John river, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1670, and of Port Royal on the second of September of the same year. The old fort at the mouth of the River St. John appears, at that time, to have been in a ruinous condition, but early in 1671 Grand-fontaine placed a garrison in it and armed it with the cannon which had been in the fort at Jemseg. Soulanges was the commandant of both forts, but he took up his residence in the fort at the mouth of the river — old Fort La Tour. Here, in 1673, was born his daughter, Louise Elizabeth, who was destined to occupy so high a position in Canada. Frontenac, the governor-general, was her godfather, but he must have taken his vows by proxy, for Frontenac never was in Acadia ; St. John and Quebec were then very far removed from each other, and communication between them was difficult. When Elizabeth de Joibert was an infant, but one year old, her Acadian home became the scene of a singular event. The Dutch were at war with the French, and thought that they might win some advantages in America ; so, in 1674, they sent an armed ship, under the command of one Captain Arenson, to attack Fort La Tour, and he succeeded in capturing it, Soulanges being very ill-prepared to make a successful defence. The Dutch did not hold their new conquest long, and Soulanges was soon again in possession of his fort. In October, 1676, he obtained two valuable grants of territory in Acadia ; one was of the fort or house of Jemseg, with a frontage of two leagues on the St. John river and two leagues in depth inland ; the other grant was at the mouth of the Nashwaak, and comprised a seignory, to be named Soulanges, with two leagues front on each side of the St. John river and two leagues of depth inland. These two seignories had a combined area of more than one hundred square miles. Soulanges, however, was not destined to enjoy them long. In 1678 he became governor of Acadia, but in the same year he died, and his widow and children returned to Canada, where they had influential relations. The future marchioness was only five years old when this change in her residence took place. From that period her career was identified mainly with the province of Quebec. We have no details with regard to the life of Louise Elizabeth de Joibert from this time until the date of her marriage with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, which was celebrated on the twenty-first of November, 1690, when she was only seventeen years old, the Bishop of Quebec officiating. She had been educated by the ladies of the Convent of the Ursulines. She was then a very

beautiful woman, and of a superior understanding. She is described by a contemporary as a person of "solid virtue and noble spirit, with all the graces which would charm the highest circles, of rare sagacity, and exquisite modesty." The Marquis de Vaudreuil, at the time of his marriage to Mlle. de Joibert, had been several years in Canada. He had distinguished himself as an officer in the wars of France in Europe, and when he came to Canada it was to assume high command. He was nearly thirty years older than his wife, but their marriage seems to have been a happy one, and in his latter years she was a most valuable assistant to him in his work as governor of Canada. De Vaudreuil aspired to be governor-general as early as 1699, on the death of Frontenac; but he was disappointed in his desire, for M. de Callieres was then made governor. De Vaudreuil, however, received some compensation by being made governor of Montreal. De Callieres died in 1703, and then the claims of de Vaudreuil could not be ignored, and he became governor-general of New France. The chief objection urged against his appointment was the fact that his wife was a native Canadian. It was thought that his connection with a leading Canadian family might prevent him from performing, with strict impartiality, his duties as governor. He continued, however, to be governor until the time of his death, twenty-two years later, and it never appeared that his conduct gave reason to justify those fears which had retarded his promotion. The marchioness de Vaudreuil had no less than twelve children, and she seems to have been an exemplary mother, as well as a true helpmeet of her husband. The time when he was governor of New France was one of much anxiety, for at that period Acadia fell into the hands of the English, and it was already evident that the sparse population of New France, as compared to the English colonies, would soon place French power in America in great danger.

Madame de Vaudreuil sailed for France in 1708, but the vessel in which she took passage was captured by the English. She was, however, treated with distinction, and was allowed to proceed to her destination. She attracted much attention at the Court of Versailles, and became a favorite both of Louis XIV. and of Madame de Maintenon. She remained in France for several years, and did not return to Canada until 1716, her husband having in the meantime gone over for the purpose of escorting her home. Such long separations between husband and wife were then less thought of than they would be now, because it was sometimes necessary for high officials in New France

to have a friend at court to look after their interests. Madame de Vaudreuil frequently acted as her husband's secretary when he was corresponding with the French government, and there is a letter of her's in existence, written in 1724, in which, on her own behalf, she claimed for her husband a larger compensation than he was then receiving. The claim is based on the great expense of living in Quebec at that time. A copy of this letter is among the archives of Canada, and the archivist says of it that it "is curious as to details, and the orthography is exceedingly quaint — for a person in her position." This, we suppose, means that the marchioness did not spell very well; but if so, there were at that time many high-born ladies, both in England and France, of whom the same could be said. Her husband died on the tenth of October, 1725, and she, within a few days, took her departure for France, where she continued to reside until her death, which occurred at Paris in June, 1740. She was a woman of great ability, and the place of her birth has every reason to be proud of this Acadian marchioness. Fifteen years after her death her son, Pierre François, Marquis de Vaudreuil, became governor-general of Canada, and he continued to hold that office until the French possessions in America passed into the hands of the English.

A CHAPTER ON NAMES.

By Rev. W. O. Raymond, M. A.

1.—The Old County of Sunbury.

There is a popular impression that the County of Sunbury once included the entire Province of New Brunswick. This is a mistake.

Nova Scotia was first divided into counties in the year 1759, and Cumberland, now the most northerly county of the peninsula, then included all the territory of Nova Scotia north of the Isthmus of Chignecto. The vast limits of the original County of Cumberland were curtailed in 1765 by the erection of the territory bordering on the St. John River into a new county called Sunbury. The bounds

were not defined ; it was merely resolved by the Governor and Council, at a meeting held in Halifax, April 30, 1765 :

That St. John's River should be erected into a county by the name of Sunbury ; and likewise that Capt. Richard Smith should be appointed a Justice of the Peace for the County of Halifax.[1]

The bounds of the new county were not defined until on the 4th of May, 1770. From the description then given, we learn that it extended from the western boundary of the province as far east as a line running due north from Quaco Head to the Canadian boundary. This would leave all the eastern part of what is now the Province of New Brunswick still a portion of the County of Cumberland ; and that this was actually the case is indicated by the fact that when word was received from England in the month of August, 1784, that the province was to be divided at the isthmus, the newspapers mention, as rather a curious circumstance, that by this division Fort Cumberland and the largest part of Cumberland County are placed within the new province, a thing contrary to the desire of the government of Nova Scotia. Prior to the division, the jurisdiction of the county seems to have been confined to the townships and settlements within the bounds of what are now Westmorland and Albert counties. The provost marshal and other officials at Halifax exercised their authority when necessary at Miramichi and the Bay of Chaleur. At the time of the division the territory north of the Isthmus of Chignecto seems to have had five representatives in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, namely, two for the County of Sunbury, two for the County of Cumberland, and one for the Township of Sackville.

2.—Parr-Town.

The name of Parr, or Parr-town, as applied to St. John, should be regarded merely as a passing episode which has received a great deal more attention than it deserves. In the first place the name was never applied to the city as a whole, but only to that part on the east side of the harbour south of Union street ; and in the second place the period in which it was so applied was only of about eighteen months'

[1] This is good! Apparently in the eyes of His Majesty's Council a Halifax justice of the peace was as important as the whole County of Sunbury.

It is probable the Nova Scotia authorities had decided on the formation of the County of Sunbury before the formal adoption of the resolution above noted, since James Simonds had written from Halifax to William Hazen, on the 18th of March, "St. Johns is made a county, and I hope will make a formidable appearance."

duration. "St. John" has been the time-honored name, with this brief exception (if exception it can be called), ever since the memorable 24th of June, 1604, when Champlain first entered the harbour—a period of almost three hundred years.

There came into my hands, not very long ago, a fragment of a letter written on the 26th December, 1784, by Col. Edward Winslow to Sir John Wentworth, in which the former speaks of the dissatisfaction with which the Loyalists regarded the name of "Parr-town" (owing, evidently, to Governor Parr's unpopularity). He says:

> The proposed plan of incorporating the new towns at the mouth of the river, and forming a city by the name of St. John, has prevented a serious representation from the people. The town on the east side was christened by Major Studholme and others, in consequence of a letter from Governor Parr to Major S., wherein he makes the request pointedly, but says 'That the idea originated in female vanity.' The rude inhabitants of this new country have not yet acquired a sufficient degree of gallantry to indulge that vanity any further, and they were evidently uneasy. They are now satisfied.

The earliest mention of "Parr-town" that I have been able to discover among the official and other documents of the period, occurs in the month of August, 1783; but the name was not generally used, even by Major Studholme, until some months later. James White, who had been at St. John since the year 1764, in a letter to the Collector of Customs at Halifax, dated at Fort Howe, November 1, 1783, speaks of "the two towns now settling at the Harbour of St. John—names *unknown;*" and Major Studholme, as late as January 2, 1784, writes an official letter from the "Town on the east side of St. John's harbour."

On the 18th May, 1785, the towns of Parr and Carleton were incorporated as the City of St. John, a measure that gave much satisfaction to all concerned.

3.—Some Proposed Names.

Sir Guy Carleton had proved himself so true a friend to the Loyalists in the hour of their adversity that there was a general desire to honor him by giving his name to some place which should be settled by them. Major Upham, later a Judge of the Supreme Court, was an enthusiastic admirer of Sir Guy, and he wrote Col. Winslow, Sept. 12, 1784:

> I beg you will use your influence that the district of country to be settled by the Provincials (or Loyalist regiments) be erected into a county and called

by the name of *Carleton*, and that the principal town on the River St. John be called *Guy*. Surely no man has so effectually contributed to the settlement of that country as Sir Guy Carleton.

The name of Carleton was given to the town on the west side of St. John harbor in honor of Sir Guy — not, as is commonly supposed, in honor of Col. Thos. Carleton, the first Governor of the Province. Respecting the suggestion of Judge Upham, that the principal city of New Brunswick should bear the name of "Guy," we can only be devoutly thankful that wiser connsels prevailed. It was at one time seriously proposed to call our good city of St. John "Clinton," after Sir Henry Clinton, the former commander-in-chief of the forces in America.

When Nova Scotia was about to be divided there was some speculation and many suggestions with respect to the name that should be given the new province. Col. Edward Fanning (afterwards Governor of Prince Edward Island) wrote to Lord Sidney suggesting that it should be called "Pittsylvania," in honor of Lord Chatham, whose character he and all other Loyalists regarded with enthusiasm. Quite early in the year 1784 the British government had practically decided on the division of Nova Scotia, and it was understood the name of the province to be created should be "New Ireland;" but some political complications caused the matter to be delayed, and when Governor Thomas Carleton came out in the autumn, it had been agreed that the name should be New Brunswick.

4.—Old Names that are Disused.

The province was divided into counties and parishes shortly after the arrival of Governor Carleton, and in some instances old historic names were supplanted by new ones. In certain localities the old name persisted for years, and only gradually gave place to the new. This was the case at Fredericton, where the old name of St. Anns was common until after the removal thither of the seat of government in 1787. At Woodstock the old Indian name *Meductic* was at first employed by the people to designate their settlement. Within the last few years it has been revived as the name of a flourishing village at the mouth of Eel River. Other names, once familiar, have disappeared from the map altogether, and few to-day know the location of Aukpaque, Freneuse and Cleoncore, or of New Warrington, Amesbury, Conway and Morrisania. Respecting these, and other equally interesting names, there is a mine of information in Dr. W. F. Ganong's "Place Nomenclature of New Brunswick."

THE FORT CUMBERLAND SUMMONS AND REPLY, 1776.

By W. F. Ganong, Ph.D.

The fall of Quebec, in 1759, brought joy and relief to the English colonists of America, for it heralded the end of French power on this continent. It was soon followed by English expansion, of which one phase was a stream of emigration from New England to Nova Scotia, particularly to the rich lands left vacant by the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755. Hence it came to pass that the opening of the American Revolution found the present Province of New Brunswick and the contiguous parts of Nova Scotia settled chiefly by New Englanders who were bound to their fellow-countrymen of Massachusetts and the neighboring States by the closest ties of kinship, love of fatherland, and constant intercourse. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that the sympathies of many of these settlers should be with the American rather than with the British cause, and that they should wish to include Nova Scotia among the colonies in revolt. This in 1776 some of them tried to do, but without success, for the British power was too strong. After one attempt, some of them returned to the States, and the remainder gave their allegiance to England, and were afterwards, as their descendants are to this day, among the most loyal of British subjects. Their one armed attempt at revolution was their attack on Fort Cumberland, under the leadership of Jonathan Eddy, in November, 1776. Colonel Eddy, a brave, but rash, leader, gathered from Machias, Passamaquoddy, the River St. John, and Sackville a force of about one hundred and eighty New Englanders, French and Indians, all badly disciplined and badly armed. Fort Cumberland, whose ruins to-day overlook one of the fairest scenes and mark one of the most important historic sites in all the Atlantic Provinces, was strongly garrisoned by one hundred well-trained and well-armed militia under command of Colonel Gorham. Only eighty of Eddy's men were available for an attack, and with these he made an assault upon the fort on the night of November 12th, but was repulsed and his forces scattered. He escaped with the remnant of his men to the River St. John, whence he later retired into Maine.

Before beginning the attack, Col. Eddy sent a summons to the fort, which, with Colonel Gorham's answer, is given below. These two documents are amongst the most interesting in our history. Not

only are they models of simple and forceful composition, but they reflect with great clearness the customs of the time and the characters of their writers. In Colonel Eddy's bold summons to a larger and better trained force inside a strong fort to surrender to his inferior one outside of it, and in Col. Gorham's calm rebuke of his adversary's disloyalty and expression of his own devotion to his Sovereign, we can read the minds of two very different men. In both documents, also, we note a characteristic of belligerents in all ages — the effort to make the enemy appear in the wrong. That in both papers the grammar is faulty and the spelling weak, does not detract from their interest, and they are here printed precisely as they occur in the work from which they are copied — Kidder's "Revolutionary Operations in Eastern Maine."

To Joseph Gorham Esq. Lieut. Colonel Commandt of the Royal Fencibles Americans Commanding Fort Cumberland.

The already too plentiful Effusion of Human Blood in the Unhappy Contest between Great Britain and the Colonies calls on every one engag'd on either side, to use their utmost Efforts to prevent the Unnatural Carnage, but the Importance of the Cause on the side of America has made War necessary, and its Consequences, though in some Cases shocking are yet unavoidable. But to Evidence that the Virtues of humanity are carefully attended to, to temper the Fortitude of a Soldier; I have to summon you in the Name of the United Colonies to surrender the Fort now under your Command, to the Army sent under me by the States of America. I do promise that if you surrender Yourselves as Prisoners of War you may depend upon being treated with the utmost Civility & Kind Treatment; if you refuse I am determined to storme the Fort, and you must abide the consequences—

Your answer is expected in four Hours after you receive this and the Flag to Return safe,

I am Sir

Your most obedt. Hble Servt

Jona Eddy

Commanding Officer of the United Forces.

Nov. 10, 1776.

Sir—

Fort Cumberland, 10th Nov., 1776.

I acknowledge the receipt of a Letter (under coular of a Flagg of Truce) Signed by one Jonan Eddy Commanding officer expressing a concern at the unhappy Contest at present Subsisting between great Britain and the Colonys and recommending those engaged on either side to use their Endeavors to prevent

the too Plentiful effusion of human Blood and further Summoning the Commanding officer to surrender this garrison—

From the Commencement of these Contest I have felt for my deluded Brother Subjects and Countrymen of America and for the many Innocent people they have wantonly Involved in the Horrors of an Unnatural Rebellion, and entertain every humane principle as well as an utter aversion to the Unnecessary effusion of Christian Blood. Therefore command you in his Majestys name to disarm yourself and party Immediately and Surrender to the Kings mercy, and further desire you would communicate the Inclosed Manifests to as many of the Inhabitants you can and as Speedily as possible to prevent their being involved in the Same dangerous and Unhappy dilemma—

Be assured Sir I shall never dishonour the Character of a Soldier by Surrendering my command to any Power except to that of my Sovereign from whence it originated.

I am Sir
Your most hble servt
Jos. Gorham, Lt Col. Comat
R. F. A. Commanding Officer
at Fort Cumberland.

THE SIEGE OF PENOBSCOT.

By Jas. Vroom.

The siege and relief of Penobscot must always rank among the most important events in the history of our Atlantic Provinces. Although the heroic stand made by the defenders and the sweeping victory of the relief were robbed of their just reward, when the Saint Croix instead of the Penobscot was made the boundary line of the new republic, yet the permanent check there given to the revolutionary forces saved to us the territory now forming the province of New Brunswick, and possibly the whole of Canada.

From the commencement of the American Revolution, the Loyalists of Western Maine had borne the heaviest persecutions that could be heaped upon them. East of the Kennebec, beyond the boundaries of the old province of Maine, in the territory sometimes called the District of Acadia and sometimes the District of Sagadahoc (then claimed by Massachusetts as a part of the District of Maine, but sending no

representatives to the general court), there was less violence, and a larger proportion of the people, to use a cant phrase of the time, were "well-wishers of the government." Especially was this true in the neighbourhood of Penobscot, and the old fort, or military post, at that place was abandoned because its commander, a Loyalist, would not hold it in the interest of the Massachusetts authorities.

Some time in the spring of 1779, orders reached Halifax for the despatch of troops to Penobscot Bay to build and garrison a fort at that place. Brigadier-General McLean, an experienced officer, and a man of education and refinement, was placed in command of the expedition; his force consisting of the Seventy-fourth Highlanders and six companies of the Hamilton Regiment, about 700 men. His proclamation, on taking possession of the territory, expressly states that to afford a place of refuge and protection for the friends of the Crown in Maine was the principal object in establishing a military post.

A frigate and three small sloops of war convoyed the transports from Halifax to Penobscot. The landing safely made, the frigate departed, leaving orders for two of the sloops to return to Halifax.

The crest of a ridge on the peninsula of Bagaduce, or Majibaquiaduce (now Castine), lying on the east side of Penobscot River, where it widens to the Bay, was the site chosen for a fort and town. The landing took place on the 17th of June. About one hundred of the inhabitants volunteered to help in clearing the land of wood, and the work of planning and building the fort and outworks was commenced without delay.

When the people of Boston heard of the occupation of Penobscot, and learned that the British were few in number, they at once resolved to overwhelm them with a superior force.

By great exertion they quickly gathered a fleet of eighteen armed vessels, with a larger number of transports and storeships, and embarked an army of 3,000 men. This expedition reached Penobscot on the 23rd of July, just five weeks after the British had laid the foundations of their fort. Confident of success, the New Englanders laid siege to the unfinished works, and rejoiced in their anticipated victory.

General McLean was not wholly unprepared. Timely warning had caused the retention of the three war sloops for the protection of the harbour, instead of only the one that had been allotted to him. The attack, however, had come much earlier than was expected, and in much larger force.

As the forty or fifty New England ships paraded before the little harbour, they seemed indeed a formidable fleet. But the British general was not one to yield to a mere show of force. Though he had but one gun mounted, and his walls half raised, he would try to hold the fort. Changing the plan of his fortifications, therefore, to

meet the emergency, and filling the openings in his masonry with logs and earthwork, he proceeded to make the best of his defences.

A full account of the siege is preserved in the diary of an officer.[1]

The three sloops of war were so managed as to hold the mouth of the narrow harbour, and baffle every attempt of the enemy's ships to force an entrance. On the 28th, after being several times repulsed, the New Englanders succeeded in effecting a landing on the outer side of the peninsula. This enabled them to throw up two batteries on the heights above the fort, and thus complete its investment; but the delay had given the British time to mount several guns, and to carry up the most necessary stores from the landing place.

Falsely informed that the garrison was short of provisions, the New Englanders, perhaps, refrained from attacking in force, waiting for hunger to do its work and give them an easier victory; yet not a day passed without some exchange of shot and shell, some assault or sortie from the fort, or some movement, either afloat or ashore, to be skilfully met by counter-movement, the defenders still continuing to strengthen their works while they held the enemy at bay.

The situation at Penobscot was known to the military authorities at Halifax; but their depleted garrison could furnish no relief until reinforcements arrived from England, and the expedition then sent out returned to port with some of its ships damaged in a storm off Cape Sable.

In the meantime, however, while the brave defenders of the Penobscot post were looking to Halifax for the help which never came, Sir George Collier had sailed from New York, with a fleet of six ships, to bring more efficient relief.

The beleaguered garrison was not entirely shut off from a knowledge of what was going on beyond the enemy's lines. Secret service men, at the risk of their lives, kept up communication with the outside world; and deserters from the enemy, at an equal risk, from time to time joined their ranks. From one of the latter they had learned that a large number of the loyal inhabitants had been taken on board the enemy's ships, where they were held as prisoners and treated with great cruelty, and that the property of these Loyalists had been destroyed, and their wives and children left destitute.

On the 13th of August there came in some deserters, who said that a council of war had been held on the commodore's ship to lay plans for a decisive action, and that it had been determined to force the harbor at next tide, and take or destroy the king's ships.

The disposition of the enemy's fleet confirmed this report, and every preparation was therefore made for a desperate resistance. Night came on, and with it the full tide; but no aggressive movement was made by the enemy's ships, and at daybreak it was seen that the

[1] Dr. John Calef, a Massachusetts Loyalist, surgeon and acting chaplain to the garrison.

sudden arrival of Sir George Collier's fleet had disconcerted their plans.

The siege was raised with alacrity. In the words of one of the defenders[1] —

> The rebel fleet never attempted to make a stand, but ran up the river in the utmost confusion. Two of their vessels only were taken ; the rest the rascals ran ashore and burned before our shipping could get up with them. Unluckily, they had intelligence of our fleet the day before, and in the night time their army got on board their shipping, and took along with them most of their cannon and stores.

The prisoners were set at liberty before the ships were burned, and the crews made the best of their way homeward through the woods.

The way in which the burning of the ships is glossed in a newspaper report of 1779 is curiously interesting, since it bears a strong resemblance to war news of later date :—

> The publick may be assured that only two ships have fallen into the enemy's hands. Admiral Staltonstal has taken effectual care to prevent their taking any more.

In spite of such deception, the excitable Americans were deeply chagrined by the defeat at Penobscot, and the Loyalists were equally elated. With the aid of the three sloops of war the king's forces had been able to hold out for twenty-one days against a fleet and army of more than six times their number and strength. The relieving fleet was composed of one ship-of-the-line, two frigates, and three smaller vessels. The British loss was seventy men in all — killed, wounded, and missing. The enemy lost nearly 500 in battle, besides their eighteen war vessels, twenty-four transports, and all their equipments and stores. After taking to the woods, the fugitives fought among themselves, seamen and soldiers accusing each other of cowardice. Many more lives were thus lost ; others perished of famine ; the remainder reached Boston in a most miserable plight.

Penobscot was held unmolested during the remainder of the war, and was the last place evacuated by the British troops after the treaty of peace.

An officer who took a leading part in the defence[2] thus sums up the result of the crushing defeat :—

> It was positively the severest blow received by the American Naval force during the War. The trade to Canada, which was intended, after the expected reduction of the Post of Penobscot, to be intercepted by this very armament, went safe that Season. The New England Provinces did not for the remaining period of the contest recover the loss of Ships, and the Expence of fiting out the Expedition. Every thought of attempting Canada and Nova Scotia was thenceforth laid aside, and the trade and Transports from the Banks of Newfoundland along the Coast of Nova Scotia, &c., enjoyed unusual Security.

---

[1] Lieutenant Moore, of the 82d, or Hamilton Regiment, who had distinguished himself for personal bravery at the commencement of the siege ; afterwards Sir John Moore, who ended a glorious military career, with a soldier's death, at Corunna.

[2] Captain Henry Mowat, R. N., commander of the three armed vessels which so successfully held the harbor.

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GENERAL COFFIN.

By I. Allen Jack, D. C. L.

All the old and many of the young citizens of Saint John, New Brunswick, have heard of General Coffin, and few tourists have travelled on the River Saint John without having had their attention called to the site of the Coffin manor at the foot of the Long Reach. But yet there are very few persons, even amongst those who live near the General's old home in the Province, who know anything of him except his name and the tradition as to his place of residence.

Prior to the fire which, in June, 1877, consumed the greater part of Saint John, including Trinity Church, there was in the latter building a mural tablet which helped to keep the memory of the departed soldier alive. Upon this was inscribed the following:

> Sacred to the memory of General John Coffin and Anne Matthews his wife one of the first settlers on the River Saint John in the year 1784 and until the time of his death was a member of the Legislative Council of this province ever endeavouring to increase the agricultural and commercial interests of the province: he died May 18. 1838 in the 85 year of his age. This tablet is erected to his memory by his surviving children.

It is to be regretted that the writer of this was apparently unable to recognize the fact that the unity existing between husband and wife is not generally apparent in the discharge of duties in the legislature or of a public character. The inscription, in addition to its disregard of grammatical rules, is inaccurate as to the date of the death, which occurred on the twelfth, not on the eighteenth day of May, although the latter might well have been desired by a Loyalist of New Brunswick as a fitting time for entering into rest.[1]

[1] The remains of General Coffin lie in the Church of England burial ground, Westfield, a beautiful spot on a hill overlooking the St. John River, about a quarter of a mile distant from the site of the Coffin manor. To the left, on entering the burial ground from the road which runs close by it, two graves are seen with the following inscriptions on the tombstones:

GENERAL J. COFFIN aged 87.	NATH'L COFFIN aged 15.

Near the head of the graves is an oak tree, a shoot from which — not more than of two seasons' growth, when the writer visited it in September of this year — has sprung up from the general's grave near the head.—[Editor.

The Coffins were in possession of Alwington Manor in Devonshire, England, from the time of the Norman Conquest, and it is still held by their descendants. Many members of the family have occupied conspicuous positions or distinguished themselves in many ways. In 1529, one Sir William Coffin, having discovered that a certain priest had refused to bury a corpse until the only cow of the deceased was delivered to him as a burial fee, caused the cleric to be placed in the grave and to be nearly, if not entirely, covered with the exhumed soil. Instead of being punished for this ecclesiastical offence, the knight was enabled to effect through his influence in parliament a needed change in relation to burial fees. Upon the restoration of the royal

Oldest House at Nantucket Built 1686.
by Sir Tristram Coffin.

family, Colonel Tristram Coffin, then Governor of Plymouth, who had fought against the crown during the war of the rebellion, embarked for America and settled with his family at Newburyport, Massachusetts. He left his only daughter in England, to secure, if possible, his inheritance. She married a Mr. Pine, who took the name of Coffin, and their descendants, the Pine-Coffins, are in occupation of the old estates to-day.

Nathaniel Coffin, of the American branch, was a merchant possessed of some means, and cashier of customs at Boston, Massachusetts. He took the side of the crown during the American Revolution, suffered greatly from loss of property, and was never reimbursed. He had four sons and several daughters. The eldest son, Nathaniel, a successful lawyer, having, with his brother next to him in age, assisted in cutting down a liberty pole, was obliged to seek safety in flight from Boston. The fourth son, Isaac, died a British Admiral and Baronet in 1839, at the ripe age of eighty-two years.

John, the third son of the elder Nathaniel, and the subject of this sketch, was born in Boston in 1756. He took to the sea at an early age, and evinced such aptitude for his calling that he became a master mariner when he was but eighteen years old. In 1775 his vessel was employed as a transport, and having on board the greater part of a regiment and also General Howe, reached Boston on the fifteenth of June. The troops were landed under Bunker Hill, and the battle, bearing that name, having commenced, the Colonel invited the young sailor "to come up and see the fun." He promptly accepted the invitation, and, armed with the only available weapon, a tiller, soon secured the musket of an American soldier, whom he had elled to the earth, and used it to good effect. Indeed his courage and capacity were so conspicuous on this occasion that General Gage, to whom he was presented at the close of the action, made him an ensign on the field, and soon after he was promoted to a lieutenancy. He had been promised by Sir William Howe that, if he would go to New York and raise four hundred men for the royal service, they should be placed under his command. He raised and commanded a company in the King's Orange Rangers about the beginning of the year 1776, and he served in this corps until 1778, when he exchanged into the New York Volunteers. He took part in the battles of Long Island in 1777, of German Town and Saint Lucie in 1778, of Briar's Creek in 1779, and of Camden in 1780. There are no extant details of his exploits in these, but in the accounts of the battles of Hampton, Hobkirk's Hill and Eutaw Springs in 1781 his heroic conduct is fully recognized and described. In his obituary notice in a Saint John paper it is also stated that he had taken part in the battle of Savannah and in the action at Cross Creek. Coffin's cavalry, which derived its name from him as its leader, was generally dreaded and

often avoided by the revolutionists, and $10,000 was offered for the head of the obnoxious officer. In 1781, when attempting during war to enjoy the delights of love at the home of William Matthews, Saint John's Island, Charleston, he was tracked by the enemy, and only avoided being captured by concealing himself beneath the hoop skirts of the daughter of his host, Miss Anne Matthews, who subsequently became his wife. On one occasion, when making one of many forays, he visited a house where a wedding was about to be held, and having been furnished by the proprietor with supplies for his corps, on being invited, remained for the festivities and danced with the bride. At the close of the war he had reached no higher rank than that of major, and it is supposed that his promotion was opposed in consequence of his having exposed the cowardice of a natural son of George III, and thereby incurred the ill-will of that monarch. Lord Cornwallis, Lord William Howe, Lord Rawdon and the Marquis of Hastings exerted themselves to overcome the obstinacy of the king, but to no purpose.

In May, 1784, Major Coffin, with his wife, two children, three black men and one black woman arrived in New Brunswick and proceeded to occupy the property already mentioned, which he named Alwington Manor after the family seat in England. Here he commenced a career of usefulness which only terminated with his life. He was, at different periods, a member of the Assembly and of the Legislative Council, superintendent of Indian schools, and chairman of Quarter Sessions.[1] He imported stock and seeds and improved agricultural implements, not only for himself and his tenants, but to distribute among his neighbors. Nor were his benefits limited to the Province, for in 1821 the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture thanked him for "a fine stud horse of the light cart breed," and made him an honorary member of the association. In 1803 Col. Coffin went to England and was presented at Court, where, with his handsome face and fine figure, six feet two inches in height, he seems to have made a favorable impression upon the mind of the king.[2] He was offered, but declined,

[1] In the St. John *Gazette* of April 26th, 1799, is the following paragraph: "Col. John Coffin, of this Province, is appointed a Brigadier-general to command on the Newfoundland Station."

[2] The St. John *Gazette* of December 10th, 1803, has the following: "Among the many military promotions that have lately taken place in England, we are pleased to find the names of Colonels Coffin and Armstrong, both of this Province, who are advanced to the rank of Major-general."

a regiment; but in 1812 he raised and obtained command of a body of 600 men which, under the name of the New Brunswick Fencibles, served to protect the province during the absence of the 104th Regiment in Upper Canada. Prior to 1829 he made several visits to England, always returning to the Province with the spring. He had ten children, of whom eight lived to maturity, his eldest son dying in 1856, a General in the Royal Artillery, and two of his sons having attained in the Royal Navy, one to the rank of Admiral, the other to that of Vice-Admiral.

Sabine, in "Notes on Duels and Duelling," states that in a duel between Colonel Campbell, of the British service, and Major Coffin, at New York, in 1783, the latter was wounded in the groin.[1] In the same work a cartel from the latter forwarded and addressed in 1818 to Robert Parker, Comptroller of Customs, Saint John, N. B., is set out as follows:

"Sir,—I have the honour to communicate the following note received from your son Nevil last Sunday morning. I am not in the habit of entertaining young gentlemen at this *inconvenient place*. But, sir, *harboring no vindictive resentment against you*, and our ages being more equal, if you will attend me upon a party of pleasure to Moose Island I shall be very happy to entertain you. I regret very much that I cannot offer you a passage in the schooner Martin, as she is at present out of commission.

"I have the honour to be, sir, with the utmost consideration,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"John Coffin."

It is interesting to note that Robert Parker's son, to whom the writer of the above refers, was the late Honorable Neville Parker, Master of the Rolls, and brother of the late Chief Justice Parker.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned, as an instance of the General's strength and courage, that on one occasion when proceeding in a whale boat to Saint John from the manor, with his youngest daughter, six or eight years of age, and a boatman, he attacked and killed a bear which had taken to the river to escape its pursuers, the only weapons being an oar and the sprit or boom of the sail.

[1] On February 25th, 1797, a duel was fought near Fredericton between Col. John Coffin and James Gleine, in which the latter was slightly wounded. The St. John *Gazette*, commenting on the incident, says: "The contending parties on this occasion behaved in every point with the strictest honour and distinguished themselves as gentlemen and men of valour."

FORT CUMBERLAND.

By James Hannay.

Fort Cumberland is the name which was given by the English to the French Fort of Beauséjour when they captured it in 1755, and I select the former name as the title of this article because, while Beauséjour only existed for about five years, Fort Cumberland has been known by that designation for about a century and a half. Beauséjour had its origin in the claim of France that when Acadia was ceded to Great Britain in 1713, under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, the words, "Nova Scotia or Acadia comprehended within its ancient boundaries," only referred to the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and that the part of ancient Acadia now known as New Brunswick still belonged to France. The same claim had been made on behalf of the English in 1667 when Acadia was restored to France by the Treaty of Breda, but it was not allowed. The French had always maintained that the River Kennebec was the western boundary of Acadia, and this claim was put forward by Governor Villebon of Acadia as late as the year 1698 in a letter written to Lieutenant Governor Stoughton of Massachusetts. Thus, according to the French view of the matter, the size of Acadia depended on its ownership. When they held the title to it Acadia extended to the Kennebec, but when it passed into the possession of the English it shrunk so much that it only consisted of the territory comprised in the modern province of Nova Scotia, and its boundary was the Misseguash.

Any one who looks at a map of the Maritime provinces will see in a moment that the isthmus which connects the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia is a position of great strategic importance, even at the present day, and that before the invention of railways and steamboats it was still more commanding than it is now. For nearly eighty years it had been the site of a prosperous settlement, which had become populous and wealthy and sent out many of its young men to establish other settlements in its vicinity. But in 1749 a change came. The French government at Quebec resolved to erect a barrier on the isthmus to resist the advances of the English; and in the autumn of that year M. la Corne, a French officer, arrived at Chignecto with seventy regular soldiers and a number of Canadian irregulars and

began to establish himself there. Nothing of importance was done that year, but in the spring of 1750 the erection of Beauséjour was commenced, and it was hardly completed when captured by the English five years later. The site chosen by the French for this stronghold was well chosen, for nature itself would seem to have intended it for a great fortress. Less than a mile from the mouth of the Misseguash River and rising high above the marsh is a long hill, a narrow ridge of land extending towards the north east. On the most southerly point of this ridge Beauséjour was erected, a fort of five bastions, star-shaped, and capable of accommodating eight hundred men. It was provided with casemates, and mounted thirty guns. In connection with Beauséjour, the French constructed a complete system of defences for the northern portion of Acadia.

At Baie Verte, twelve miles distant, they had a small fort, which they named Fort Gaspereaux. It was close to the sea shore on the northern side of the bay, and was used as a depot for goods coming to Beauséjour from Louisbourg and Quebec. It mounted six guns and had a garrison of from fifteen to thirty men. At Pointe à Buot, midway between Beauséjour and Baie Verte there was a block house, garrisoned by thirty men, and there were guards at Shepody, Shediac and one at two other points. At the River St. John there was a detachment of seventy or eighty men, besides Indians. This line of posts formed a continuous chain from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to St. John; and Beauséjour could at any time be reinforced, either by way of the Gulf from Louisbourg or from the River St. John, without the English at Halifax or Annapolis having any notice of it.

The English authorities at Halifax naturally viewed the erection of Beauséjour with extreme disfavor, and it was resolved to meet the emergency by the building of another fort on the south side of the Misseguash River. As a preliminary step, Major Lawrence, in April, 1750, went to Chignecto with a force of 400 men, about half of them regulars, to build a block house in the vicinity of the French village of Beaubassin. As soon as the English made their appearance the French inhabitants abandoned their dwellings and crossed over to the north side of the Misseguash, and as soon as they had done this, the Indians, who were acting under the orders of the commandant of Beauséjour, set fire to the deserted houses, 140 in number, and destroyed them. This forced emigration was ordered by Le Loutre,

a priest, who was acting as the agent of the French government at Quebec. Thus were more than 1000 persons driven from their homes and compelled to seek shelter under the walls of Beauséjour, which then and later became the rallying point of all the French inhabitants who had fled from that portion of Acadia which the French admitted to belong to England.

As the removal of the French inhabitants of Beaubassin had rendered the building of a block house there unnecessary, Lawrence returned with his force to Minas, after exchanging communications with La Corne, the commander at Beauséjour, who claimed all north of the Misseguash as French territory. But in the beginning of September of the same year, Lawrence returned to Chignecto with a larger force, consisting of the 48th Regiment and 300 men of the 45th Regiment. The Indians and some of the French inhabitants were rash enough to oppose the landing of this strong body of troops, but were driven off after a sharp skirmish in which the English lost about 20 killed and wounded. On an elevation a short distance south of the Misseguash River, Lawrence commenced the erection of a picketed fort, with block houses, which was named after himself. Here a garrison of 600 men was maintained until after the fall of Beauséjour. England and France were nominally at peace when Fort Lawrence was built, but there was seldom peace in Acadia as long as the French had a foothold there.

The English colony in Nova Scotia was very weak, most of the inhabitants of that province being French. The French held Louisbourg and the whole island of Cape Breton; they likewise possessed Quebec and all Canada, so that the capture of Beauséjour soon became a necessity unless British power in Acadia was wholly to disappear. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1754, steps were taken to recruit a sufficient force in New England to ensure the desired result. Lawrence was then Governor of Nova Scotia, and he sent Lieut.-Colonel Monckton to Boston to confer with Governor Shirley of Massachusetts as to the arrangements necessary to be made. Two battalions of New England troops, numbering about 2000 men, were enlisted for the proposed expedition and placed under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Winslow and Lieut.-Colonel Scott. A sufficient number of vessels was obtained at Boston to convey this force to Nova Scotia, and on the 23rd May, 1755, it set sail for its destination. At Annapolis 300 veterans of the 45th Regiment were taken on board, and a small train of artillery,

and Chignecto was reached on the 2nd of June. On the following day all the troops were landed and camped about Fort Lawrence.

Fort Beauséjour was then under the command of M. du Chambon de Verger, a great grandson of Charles de la Tour. His force of regulars for the defence of the place was small, not exceeding 200 men, but several hundred Acadians had been called into the fort to assist the garrison. Beauséjour could not be assailed from the front because of its great elevation above the marsh, so Monckton proceeded to take measures to attack it from the rear. On the 4th June, the English captured the block house at Pointe à Buot, and crossed the Misseguash, establishing themselves the same evening on the north side of that river a mile and a half from the fort. A week was expended in bridging the Misseguash and getting the cannon and mortars across, and on the morning of the 13th fire was opened on the fort from the trenches at a distance of 700 feet. Cannon and mortar fire was continued until the 16th, when Verger surrendered, after having learned that there was no prospect of any help reaching him from Louisbourg. He has been much censured by French writers for this, but apparently without just cause, for his means of defence were entirely inadequate.

Governor Lawrence changed the name of Beauséjour to Fort Cumberland and for many years it was occupied by an English garrison. A small force of regulars was there until after the close of the last war with the United States, in 1812–15. A long peace followed that contest; there was no war going on either in Europe or America, and the garrison of Fort Cumberland was withdrawn.

During the war of the American revolution Fort Cumberland was attacked by a party of rebels from New England under Jonathan Eddy, who had been a resident of Nova Scotia and a member of the legislature. He was assisted in his attempt by twenty-five residents of Maugerville under Capt. Quinton, all of whom were originally from New England and sympathized with their friends in Massachusetts who were in rebellion. Eddy appeared before Fort Cumberland in 1776, and summoned it to surrender, but Lieut.-Col. Gorham, who was in command there, treated this summons with contempt.[1] Eddy, although aided by the Indians and by some of the settlers who lived near Fort Cumberland, was unable to accomplish anything, and was finally driven off and compelled to take to the woods by a force of marines under Major Batt, which were landed from a British warship. Thus ended the last warlike operations in which Fort Cumberland was involved, and with it the hopes of those who expected to make Nova Scotia one of the United States. The old fort is now a picturesque ruin, and it is to be hoped that the horrid sounds of war may never more disturb the beautiful and fertile region which it commands.

[1] Summons and answer are given in full in No. 2, page 53, of this series of readings.

D'ANVILLE'S EXPEDITION.

By Harry Piers, Asst. Librarian Legislative Library, Halifax, N. S.

Early in 1745, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts formed a bold plan to capture Louisbourg, and so strike a telling blow at French rule in America. Four thousand New England troops, raw, but full of courage and enthusiasm, were sent on this mission under command of an untried militia colonel named Pepperell. Commodore Warren was ordered to support the provincials with the small squadron under his command.

To one experienced in warfare, this hastily raised expedition would seem doomed to certain failure. Good fortune, however, followed the New Englanders; and the French commandant, Du Chambon, after standing a siege of seven weeks, raised the white flag and asked for terms.

The news of the fall of the Dunkirk of America threw France into the utmost dismay, and she also felt keen mortification at having thus surrendered to a poorly equipped force of undisciplined colonists. Consternation and chagrin, however, soon gave way to desire for revenge, and plans for retaliation were quickly formed. The fortress must be immediately recaptured, and Annapolis and Boston demolished. It should be England's turn to feel the stings of humiliation.

To guard against the least possibility of failure, most elaborate preparations were made. An immense fleet was mobilized at Brest, and, although its destination was kept secret, the British colonies in America easily surmised that it was to be directed against them, and consequently they were filled with deep apprehension.

This fleet consisted of eleven ships of the line, mounting from fifty to sixty guns each, twenty frigates, and about thirty-four transports, fire-ships, etc., – some sixty-five vessels in all. Over three thousand troops were on board, with large stores of arms and ammunition. Such an armament had never before sailed for America; well might the colonies tremble before so large a force.

The commander was M. de la Rochefoucauld, duc d'Anville, an experienced naval officer, who had spent the greater part of his life in the service of his king. Throughout the hardships of a naval life he had retained the elegance of manner and artistic temperament of

the illustrious family to which he belonged, and he has been described as a man made to command and worthy to be loved.

After gathering at Brest, the fleet went to Rochelle, where head winds detained it until late in June. At last on the eleventh of that month (old style),[1] the squadron put to sea. Little did it dream that naught but misfortune awaited it.

At first rough water was met in the Bay of Biscay, resulting in the destruction of spars and sails. Then a region of calm was entered, and for days hardly a league's progress was made. The calm was followed by a thunder storm in which several ships were struck by lightning, ammunition blown up, and a number of men thereby killed or wounded.

To increase the distress, a most severe sickness broke out among the overcrowded crews and troops, and the men died by scores. The disease is supposed to have been scorbutic fever and dysentery of a most fatal character. As the deaths increased in number, the admiral became more and more anxious. Provisions also were nearly exhausted, and starvation seemed imminent.

It was not until the beginning of September that the fleet reached American waters. On the third of that month, when near the dreaded Isle of Sable, a terrific storm broke upon the ships. Thunder crashed from end to end of the heavens, and the waves ran to prodigious heights. Soon everything was confusion. Wind-drowned orders mingled with the noise of tearing sails and whistling cordage. One of the transports dashed into another vessel and foundered with every soul. When night came the terrors increased, the tempest raging with undiminished fury. Next morning, only five sail could be seen from the deck of the frigate "Prince d'Orange," and as far as the eye could reach the sea was covered with wreckage. A 26-gun ship lay a hulk without spars or rudder. Gradually, however, the storm abated, and the fleet closed in until thirty-one ships were once more in company.

The storm was succeeded by several days of heavy fog, in which the fleet lay off and on, and collisions were only prevented by the constant firing of guns and other signals. At length the admiral found he was accompanied by only two of his squadron. He could only hope that the others were safe. He was now close to the

[1] The dates in this article are old style. New style dates — eleven days later — will be found in French accounts.

Bay of Chebucto, since known as Halifax harbor, which had been chosen as the rendezvous of the fleet. An English prisoner who had boasted that he was acquainted with the coast, was forced to act as pilot on penalty of being tossed overboard with a couple of cannon balls at his feet. Before nightfall the three ships cast anchor within the spacious harbor, after a disastrous and protracted voyage of ninety-one days. Only one of his ships, a transport, was awaiting him when he arrived. Three ships of the line and a frigate that had been detached some time before to convoy some merchantmen to the West Indies, had been ordered to rejoin the squadron at Chebucto. They had arrived there some time previously, but not finding the belated fleet, had sailed for France only a few days before.

D'Anville was broken-hearted. His misfortunes and the weight of responsibility had affected him deeply, and were now become unbearable. He saw about him but four shattered ships of that grand armada that had so confidently hoisted sails at Brest. What had become of the others, he knew not. Disease was rapidly unmanning his ships. The very curse of heaven seemed to follow him. He was a brave man, and an eye-witness says he had borne the reverses with manly fortitude. Now, however, only ruin was before him. At two o'clock on the night of September 27th he suddenly died, probably of apoplexy. There were those, however, in the fleet who whispered that poison had ended his many troubles.

On the afternoon of the same day several ships entered the harbour and cast anchor. It was the vice-admiral d'Estournel with another portion of the scattered fleet.

On the following morning at dawn, a solitary boat bearing a dead body and a number of officers pulled to Isle Raquette, now George's Island, and there beneath the trees were unceremoniously laid the remains of the unhappy commander. His heart was removed and subsequently deposited in the tomb of his ancestors. The name of the island was changed to Isle d'Anville, and the Indians were instructed never to speak of it save by that name.

A council of war was summoned to meet on the vice-admiral's ship, "Le Trident," on the day succeeding the burial of d'Anville, in order to discuss the situation and form plans. The frightful condition of the fleet was patent to all. Only some seven ships of the line remained, the admiral was dead, and the men were dying by hundreds.

About twelve or thirteen hundred men had been buried at sea, and the terrible fatality still continued. Such a fleet was in no state to enter upon the work for which it had been intended, particularly as the season was now late.

Among the papers of the late admiral was found one in the king's hand-writing instructing d'Anville to first direct his force against Louisbourg. This the council decided was now impossible, but it was thought that Annapolis at least might be captured. D'Estournel, doubtless dispirited by the many calamities that had befallen the expedition, vehemently opposed such a project and recommended they should sail for France after taking fresh water and provisions. All the land and sea officers considered it dishonorable to return thus without having struck a single blow. It is said the debate lasted seven hours[1] and ended in the defeat of the vice-admiral's proposition.

At the conclusion of the meeting, d'Estournel, exceedingly agitated, entered his cabin and bolted the door. About two o'clock at night groans were heard from within. The door was broken down and he was found lying mortally wounded. In a delirium of despair and mortification he had run himself through with his own sword. Ordering his captains on board, he said to them, "Gentlemen, I beg pardon of God and the king for what I have done, and I protest to the last that my only design was to prevent my enemies from one day saying that I had not executed the king's orders. I resign the command of the fleet to M. de la Jonquiére." In twenty hours he was dead.

The command now fell upon Marquis de la Jonquiére, governor-elect of Canada, a man who had seen a good deal of active service. Unlike d'Anville, La Jonquiére belonged to a family of little fortune, but by ability he had raised himself into prominence. He was of tall stature, of excellent physique, and had an imposing air. Although later in life he proved to be unscrupulous in some matters, yet his worst enemies could not accuse him of being anything but a man of undaunted courage.

For the present nothing could be done until the sickness throughout the fleet had somewhat abated. The men had been encamped on shore, the sick being placed in large tents formed of old sails, but still the deaths continued. According to the deposition of an English

[1] Foster, an English prisoner, states that the council was held during two days.

prisoner, 1135 men died while the fleet was in the harbor. The Micmacs, who were encamped near, became infected and also died in great numbers. Fresh provisions were supplied in abundance by the Acadians, who, it seems, had a pathway across the province. There is little doubt that the French priest, Le Loutre visited Chebucto and conferred with the commander regarding the condition of the fleet and the assistance that would be furnished by the French of Minas and other parts of the province. Ramesay with a force of nearly seven hundred men had been sent from Canada under orders to co-operate with d'Anville, and his presence in the country tended to embolden the Acadians, whose animosity to the English had been stimulated to the utmost by Le Loutre and his emissaries.

The British by this time had succeeded in gaining knowledge of the presence of the French fleet on the coast. Early in September a sea captain reported at Louisbourg that he had seen the squadron. The English forts were strengthened as much as possible and the garrisons anxiously awaited the attack which was daily expected.

Finally La Jonquiére decided to move immediately against Annapolis. Some accounts state that his departure was hurried by a report that a British squadron under Admiral Lestock was expected on the coast. Only a thousand men were now fit for service and deaths were occurring daily. One frigate had remaining only one seaman to a gun. La Jonquiére nevertheless gave orders for the embarkation of the troops and made other preparations for sailing.

On October 7th and 8th, the sick were placed on board five vessels which were to serve as hospitals, and the following day the healthy troops were also embarked. On the 11th an Acadian brought word that Annapolis had been reinforced, whereupon a secret council was held. The same day there arrived a ship from Louisbourg under a flag of truce. She brought a number of prisoners for exchange, although her real mission was to ascertain the number of the French fleet and the condition of the forces.

La Jonquière intended to sail on the 12th, but the wind was too high. On that day "La Parfaite," which seems to have been a fifty-gun ship, was condemned and burned, after having been stripped and hauled on shore. A prize snow from Carolina, an Antigua prize, and some fishing schooners were also burned after having unloaded. It is pro-

bably the remains of these ships that are in Bedford Basin near the Three-mile house, and also close to Navy Island.

The weather on the morning of the 13th was more favorable, and accordingly the entire fleet, consisting of seven sail of the line, twenty-three frigates or transports, two snows, two brigs, a dogger, four schooners and three sloops, hoisted sail at sunrise, and soon after stood for sea, before a fair wind from the north. On board the ships were fifty Acadians from Minas who were to act as pilots when the fleet approached Annapolis. The day after the fleet put to sea, several small craft were despatched to France. Deaths still took place, and an eye-witness states that each day he saw a great number of corpses cast into the waves.

On the 14th, a heavy east-south-east gale burst upon the fleet. The storm was succeeded by a calm and a thick fog, in which the ships became separated. During the night of the 15th a council was held on board the flag-ship, at which the officers, utterly dispirited, decided to abandon finally the expedition and return immediately to France. The flag of truce with the exchanged prisoners, and also the Acadian pilots, were accordingly dismissed the next day. No intimation was given them, however, of the alteration in the commander's plans. The course of the fleet was then changed. Misfortune still followed it, and on October 24th another storm was encountered and the ships again scattered. Deaths were still frequent, and it was even feared that there would not ultimately be enough healthy seamen to work the ships. The condition of the troops was equally as bad, and of eleven companies only ninety-one men were reported free from sickness.

It is said that two of the detached ships entered Annapolis Basin where they expected to meet the rest of the fleet; but on not finding the latter, and seeing a British ship of the line and a frigate anchored in the bay, they immediately retired.

On November 26th, after a voyage of forty-four days, a portion of the fleet reached Port Louis on the west coast of France, and found there several ships of the squadron that had earlier made port. One of these latter ships was the frigate "La Palme," of whose homeward voyage a horrible tale was told. When the storm of September 3rd had subsided this ship found herself alone and with her provisions almost exhausted. It was decided to return to France immediately. The suffering on this homeward voyage was terrible. Daily rations were

reduced to one and a half ounces each of biscuit and salt meat, and even rats were eagerly devoured. Death by starvation seemed almost certain. Finally, in sheer desperation, the crew demanded of M. Destrahoudal, the captain, that five British prisoners should be butchered and their flesh given to the starving seamen. The captain consulted with his officers, who seeing it was impossible to restrain the frantic crew, ordered the ship's butcher to kill one of the prisoners and serve out the flesh in bits of three ounces each. Fortunately, before the horrible deed was done, a sail was sighted upon the horizon. It proved to be a Portuguese ship, which sent five sheep to the starving crew, who devoured the flesh uncooked.

Such is the tragic story of d'Anville's ill-fated expedition. It had sailed from France with unusual promise of success, yet storm and shipwreck, separation, pestilence, and lack of unanimity in council, all combined to ruin utterly the undertaking ; and the remainder of the fleet, shattered and mortified, returned ignominiously home without having struck a single blow to further the purpose for which it was dispatched. Naval history furnishes few such striking instances of disastrous failure.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE RIVER ST. JOHN BEFORE 1672, BY NICOLAS DENYS.

Edited by W. F. Ganong, Ph.D.

In 1872 there was published in Paris a work of the greatest importance upon the History and Natural History of the Maritime Provinces of Canada.[1] Its author was Nicolas Denys, long the governor under the French King of all the North Shore, from Cape Breton to Gaspé. Though not always clear in style, nor invariably correct in details, it is nevertheless most valuable for its simple straightforward account of events which he himself witnessed, and for its description of places which he himself saw before they were altered by later settlement. His account of the habits and distribution

[1] It is in two parts, containing together nearly 800 small pages. Part I is entitled "Description Geographique et Historique des Costes de l'Amerique Septentrionale," and Part II, "Histoire Naturelle de l'Amerique Septentrionale."

of animals and plants is of much more than merely antiquarian interest at the present day, while his chapters upon the customs of the Indians and the modes of hunting and fishing then in vogue among the French are the best sources of information we have upon those subjects. Such narratives as his are greatly prized by the historian, who can read between the lines, and through them enter into the very spirit of the time and place. We give here a translation of the part describing the St. John River; and from it one may gather a good idea of the book.

CHAPTER II.

Which treats of the River Saint John, of Minas, of Port Royal, of all the Bay of Fundy; of the soil, of the woods, of the hunting, and of all that has occurred there.

The entrance of the River Saint John is dangerous of access, the shore ranging close up from both directions; the best entrance is on the starboard or right hand side, not approaching too near the shore. This entrance is narrow, because of a little island[1] which is to larboard or on the left side, which being passed, the river is much larger. On the same side as the island there are large marshes or flats which are covered at high tide;[2] the beach is of muddy sand, which makes a point,[3] which passed, there is a cove [or creek][4] which makes into the said marshes, of which the entrance is narrow, and there the late Sieur Monsieur de la Tour had caused to be made a weir in which were caught a great number of those gaspereaux which were salted for winter; he several times caught there so great a quantity that it was necessary to break the weir and push them back into the sea, as otherwise they would have given a stench to the weir, and thus would have ruined it. There were found here sometimes also salmon, alewives and bass, which is the *maigre*[5] of La Rochelle, which serve all the spring as a grand manna for the inhabitants of this country.

A little farther on, beyond the said weir, there is a little knoll[6] where d'Aunay built his fort, which I have not found well placed according to my idea, for it is commanded by an island[7] which is very near and higher ground, and behind which all ships can place themselves under cover from the fort, in which there is only water from pits, which is not very good, no better than

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[1] Partridge Island.

[2] Where now the Millpond is.

[3] Now called Sand Point.

[4] Where the outlet to the Millpond now is.

[5] (Pr. mä-ger, *g* hard). The popular name of a fish (Sciæna aquila) inhabiting the Mediterranean Sea and the East Atlantic Ocean. It sometimes attains the length of six feet, and is much sought as a food fish.

[6] Where the "Old Fort" stands in Carleton.

[7] Navy Island.

that outside the fort. It would have been in my opinion better placed behind the island where vessels anchor, and where it would have been higher, and, in consequence, not commanded by other neighbouring places, and would have had good water, as in that which was built by the said late Sieur de la Tour,[1] which was destroyed by d'Aunay after he had wrongfully taken possession of it,—as he had no right whatever to do, and which he would have found great difficulty in accomplishing had he not been advised of the absence of Sieur de la Tour, who had taken with him a part of his garrison, leaving only his wife and the remainder of his people to keep the fort. After having sustained for three days and three nights all the assaults of d'Aunay, and having obliged him to withdraw beyond reach of her cannon, she was finally obliged to surrender on the fourth day, which was Easter day, having been betrayed by a Swiss who was on guard whilst she, hoping for some respite, was making her followers rest. The Swiss, bribed by d'Aunay's men, allowed them to mount to the assault, which was resisted for some time by the lady commander at the head of her garrison. She only surrendered at the last extremity, and under condition that d'Aunay should spare all, which, indeed, he did not do, for after making himself master of the place, he threw them all into prison along with their lady commander. Then by advice of his council, he hung them, with the exception of a single one, whose life was spared on the condition that he would do the hanging; and the lady commander had to be present at the scaffold with a rope around her neck as though she was the vilest criminal.[2] This is the title which Le Borgne has made use of to claim as creditor of the said Sieur d'Aunay the proprietorship of the River St. John.

The island of which I have spoken being passed,[3] below which vessels anchor in order to be under shelter, it is only a good cannon shot to the Falls, where it is impossible to pass except for boats and small vessels at high tide only.[4] But before entering farther into the river there is one thing surprising enough; in

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[1] The site of Fort La Tour has been matter of controversy. I think it stood on the knoll at Portland Point. The reasons for this are given in an article in the New Brunswick Magazine for July, 1898. Mr. James Hannay believes it stood at "Old Fort" Carleton, and gives his reasons in the same magazine for August.

[2] This is the only early account of the capture of Fort La Tour which has come down to us, and along with one or two references to the event by early writers is the basis for the descriptions given by the various historians who have recounted it. Some authentic documents recently discovered in England state that Madame de la Tour was believed in Acadia to have been poisoned by D'Aunay. She died three weeks after the capture of the fort.

[3] Navy Island.

[4] Not strictly correct. Vessels cannot pass at high water, but at a time before and after it, when the river and harbor are at the same level. At high water there is a fall inward. This remarkable fall, inward at high water, outward at low water, a tidal phenomenon, has attracted attention from the earliest times.

the course of the fall is a great hole about three or four hundred feet in circumference which is made by the fall of the water in passing between two rocks forming a narrow place in the river, which is thus made more rapid at that point. In this hole is a great upright floating tree, and whichever way the water runs it never gets out, and it only appears from time to time. One is sometimes eight, ten, or fifteen days without seeing it. The end which appears above the water is a little larger around than a hogshead, and when it appears it is sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. All of the Indians who formerly passed by here, and they are in great numbers in these parts, rendered it homage, but they pay little attention to it at present, having been undeceived. They called this tree the Manitou, that is to say, the Devil. Their ancient homage to it was one or two beaver skins or other peltry which they attached to the top of this tree with an arrowhead made of moose bone and sharpened with stones. When they passed by it and their Manitou did not show himself, they took it as an evil omen, saying that he was angry with them. Since the French have come to these parts and have given them iron arrowheads, they use no other kinds, and the poor Manitou has his head so covered with them that one can scarcely stick in a pin. I have seen it, and Monsieur de la Tour's men, who were formerly with him and afterwards with me, have assured me that they once attached ropes to the top of this tree, and that ten-oared boats rowing with all their strength with the current were unable to draw it out of the hole.

Having passed the falls, the river becomes larger, more so on one side than the other on account of some islands.[2] There are three of these which are large, on which there are very beautiful meadows, as there are also along both banks of the river; these are flooded every year by the melting of the snows which occurs usually in spring. It runs far back into the country, and the Indians, by means of this river, by crossing some land, even pass into other rivers, of which some fall into the River St. Lawrence, others into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and at Nepisiguit into Bay Chaleur.[3] There are along each route two or three canoe portages through the woods, where one finds paths

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[1] This hole was without doubt that whirlpool now known as "the pot." It is on the west side just above Union Point, and is formed only on the flood tide. In it various objects brought down by the river often are caught and float round and round for hours, and boats go out to see whether anything of value may be found, a process called "skimming the pot." I have never heard of trees floating in the pot, as Denys describes them.

[2] It is not plain to which islands he refers unless it be those in the Kennebecasis; but these are high and are not flooded in spring. The description which follows applies to islands and meadows farther up the river.

[3] This is strictly true; branches of the St. John thus communicate with all of the principal rivers flowing north and east.

which run from one river to another which they [the Indians] call Louniguins.[1] Other portages are at places along the rivers where the navigation is impeded by falls or rapids caused by rocks which hold the water back and narrow the passage, thus rendering the current so rapid and making the water fall from such a height that it is necessary to carry the canoes on the shoulders or on the head to where the course of the river is smooth. Most commonly those portages are five to six leagues,[2] sometimes even ten, which is uncommon. It is those which the Indians call Louniguins and of which they willingly undertake the passage because of the ease with which they carry their canoes, which are very light, as may be easily understood from the account which I have given of them in its proper place. Boats cannot go up this river higher than eighteen to twenty leagues[3] because of falls and rocks which are scattered there and which compel a resort to canoes.

Besides all the woods which I have already mentioned to you there are also here great numbers of very fine oaks which are excellent for shipbuilding, and ought to be better than those of the coast to the north,[4] of which the wood is too soft.[5] There are also plenty of beeches, very tall and with high branches. It also abounds in wild walnuts, of which the nuts are triangular and difficult to open, though when placed by the fire they open easily; that which is inside has the taste of a walnut.[6] There is found here also a great quantity of wild grapes on wild vines, of which the fruit is large and of very good taste, but the skin is thick and hard. It comes to maturity, and if cultivated and transplanted I do not doubt it would produce very good wine.[7] This is not a sign that the cold there is so severe nor the snow so deep as everybody says. I believe there are many parts of France which are not so good as this place in climate, and where many people live not so much at their ease as they would be in these parts, distant though they are.[8]

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[1] The Maliseet Indians living on the St. John to this day call a portage oo-ne-gunce.

[2] Some of the principal ones are much shorter, only two or three miles.

[3] Small vessels can go as high as Springhill, ninety miles from the mouth.

[4] The coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, of which Denys was governor; still called the "North Shore."

[5] *Gras*, literally fat.

[6] Probably the butternut, or white walnut, is meant, though it is incorrect to say that the nut is triangular. The beech nut has this shape.

[7] Wine is often made from the wild grapes growing along the St. John.

[8] The description of the river ends here, and he passes on to the Bay of Fundy.

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF LIEUT. JAMES MOODY.

EDITED BY G. U. HAY, PH.B.

In the brief sketch here given of Lieut. James Moody, the writer is indebted to Calneck's History of Annapolis, which contains, among other interesting notes, portions of the autobiography of this remarkable man quoted at secondhand from Sabine's History of the Loyalists

Such narratives as this are of great historical value; for, while the facts may not in themselves be important, they represent with faithfulness the daily lives and actions of the men who took part in these great events. The story, for which we have only space for a few leading incidents, is told with a wholesome simplicity that impresses us with the rugged sincerity of the man, who, when once his course of action was made plain, pursued it without flinching to the end, even though it involved sacrifices from which men naturally shrink.

Lieut. Moody was from conviction and sense of duty a loyalist, and when the Revolutionary War broke out he left his farm and became a soldier, giving to the royalist cause a faithful and unswerving support until its close. In return for his valuable services he was granted a pension and a tract of land at Weymouth, N. S. Here he lived from 1785 until his death in 1809. He was a member of the Nova Scotia Legislature for six years, and testimony is borne to the exact manner in which he performed his duties. Many families in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick trace their descent from Lieut. Moody.

In his autobiography he tells us that up to the outbreak of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country he cultivated his farm "in the best climate and happiest country in the world," happy in the love of his family and neighbors and seldom thinking much of state questions. The gathering clouds warned him that the peaceful security which he had long enjoyed was at an end, and he was compelled to seek the British lines for protection. Once his decision was made, he threw himself into the struggle with all the ardour of a patriotic devotion. He was employed by the British commanders on the most hazardous and delicate missions for which his physical strength and endurance, his undaunted courage, his integrity and caution well fitted him. His prowess soon made him well known and feared among his enemies. When he was known to be near a

place, guards were doubled and extraordinary precautions taken to capture him or defeat the purpose he had in view.

On one occasion Lieut. (then Ensign) Moody undertook, with six men to liberate a prisoner, under sentence of death, from the jail of Sussex County, New York. This man was one of Burgoyne's soldiers, charged with crimes of a civil nature, of which he was believed to be innocent. So great was the sympathy for him within the British lines and so evident the resentment of his persecutors that it was determined to rescue him, and to do this successfully recourse was had to stratagem. What follows is from Moody's own narrative :

Coming to the jail, the keeper called out from the window of an upper room, and demanded what their business was. The ensign instantly replied : 'He had a prisoner to deliver into his custody." "What ! One of Moody's fellows ?" said the jailer. "Yes," said the ensign. On his enquiring what the name of the supposed prisoner was, one of the party who was well known by the inhabitants of that place to be with Mr. Moody, personated the character of a prisoner, and spoke for himself. The jailer gave him a little ill language ; but notwithstanding seemed highly pleased with the idea of having so notorious a Tory in his custody. On the ensign urging him to come down and take charge of the man, he peremptorily refused, alleging that in consequence of Moody's being out, he had received strict orders to open his doors to no man after sunset, and that therefore he must wait till morning. Finding that this would not take, the ensign now changed his tone ; and in a stern voice told him, "Sirrah, the man who now speaks to you is Moody ; I have a strong party with me ; and if you do not this moment deliver up your keys, I will instantly pull down your house about your ears." The jailer vanished in a moment. On this Mr. Moody's men, who were well skilled in the Indian war-whoop, made the air resound with such a variety of hideous yells as soon left them nothing to fear from the inhabitants of New Town, which, though the county town, consisted of only twenty or thirty houses. "The Indians! the Indians are come !"—said the panic-struck people ; and happy were they who could soonest escape into the woods. While these things were thus going on, the ensign had made his way through a casement, and was met by a prisoner, whom he immediately employed to procure him a light. The vanished jailer was now again produced ; and most obsequiously conducted Mr. Moody to the dungeon of the poor wretch under sentence of death.

It may seem incredible, but it is an undoubted fact, that notwithstanding all the horrors and awfulness of his situation, this poor, forlorn, condemned British soldier was found fast asleep ; and had slept so sound as to have heard nothing of the uproar or alarm. There is no possibility of describing the agony

of this man, when on being thus suddenly aroused, he saw before him a man in arms. . . . The first and only idea that occurred to him was that . . . the person he saw was his executioner. On Mr. Moody's repeatedly informing him of his mistake and that he was come to release him in the name of King George, the . . . pitch of joy had well nigh overcome him. Never before had the writer been present at so affecting a scene. In such circumstances it was with some difficulty that the ensign got him away. The humane reader, Mr. Moody persuades himself, will not be less affected than he himself was at the mournful sequel of this poor soldier's tale.

In the course of the war he was again taken, . . . and afterwards actually executed on the same sentence on which he had been before convicted. . . . When he was brought to the place of execution, the persons who had charge of him told him they had authority to promise him a reprieve, and they did most solemnly promise it to him on condition only that he would tell them who the loyalists in the country were that had assisted Moody. His reply was most manly and noble, and proves that real nobility of character and dignity of sentiment are appropriated to no particular rank or condition of life. "I love life," he said, "and there is nothing which a man of honour can do that I would not do to save it; but I cannot pay the price for it. The men you wish me to betray must be good men because they have assisted a good man in a good cause. Innocent as I am, I feel this is an awful moment; how far it becomes you to tempt me to make it terrible, by overwhelming me in the basest guilt, yourselves must judge. My life is in your power; my conscience, I thank God, is still my own."

This incident Mr. Moody gives on the testimony of an eye-witness, and he further states that the man suffered for an offence for which he was charged wrongfully, as was afterwards learned from the voluntary confession of a less conscientious loyalist.

Lieut. Moody was at one time a prisoner in the camp of General Arnold, who allowed him to be treated with the greatest cruelty. This severity was lessened by the order of General Washington, but extra precautions were taken to prevent his escape. Hearing that his enemies were soon to put him to death, he determined, if possible, to effect his escape; and one night (Sept. 17th, 1780) he succeeded in breaking his fetters. The narrative continues:

Let the reader imagine what his sensations were when he found the manacles drop from his hands! He sprang instantly past the interior sentinel, and rushing on the next, with one hand he seized his musket and with the other struck him to the ground. The sentinel within and the four others who were placed by

the fence surrounding the place of his confinement immediately gave the alarm, and in a moment the cry was general: "Moody is escaped from the provost." It is impossible to describe the uproar which now took place throughout the whole camp. In a few minutes every man was in a bustle, every man was looking for Moody, and multitudes passed him on all sides, little suspecting that a man whom they saw deliberately marching along with a musket on his shoulder could be the fugitive they were in quest of. The darkness of the night, which was also blustering and drizzly, prevented any discrimination of his person, and was indeed the great circumstance that rendered his escape possible.

But no small difficulty still remained to be surmounted. To prevent desertion, which at that time was very frequent, Washington had surrounded his camp with a chain of sentinels, posted at about forty or fifty yards' distance from each other; he was unacquainted with their stations; to pass them undiscovered was next to impossible, and to be discovered would certainly be fatal. In this dilemma Providence again befriended him. He had gained their station without knowing it, when luckily he heard the watchword passed from one to another—"Look sharp to the chain, Moody is escaped from the provost!" From the sound of the voices he ascertained the respective situations of these sentinels, and throwing himself on his hands and knees, he was happy enough to crawl through the vacant space between two of them unseen by either. Judging that their line of pursuit would naturally be toward the British army, he made a detour into the woods on the opposite side. Through these woods he made as much speed as the darkness of the night would permit, steering his course after the Indian manner by occasionally groping and feeling the white oak. On the south side the bark of this tree is rough and unpleasant to the touch, but on the north side it is smooth, hence it serves the sagacious traveller of the desert by night as well as by day for his compass. Through the most dismal swamps and woods he continned to wander till the night of the 21st, a space of more than fifty-six hours, during which time he had no other sustenance than a few beech leaves—which of all that the woods afforded were the least pernicious to the health and the least unpleasant to the taste—which he chewed and swallowed to abate the intolerable craving of his hunger.

At length he arrived safely within the British lines. In the following spring he was engaged in two hazardous enterprises—the interception of despatches to General Washington—in the first of which he was successful, but failed in the second.

The last and most dangerous undertaking in which Lieut. Moody was engaged was an attempt to carry off the most important books and papers of Congress at Philadelphia. The projector of this scheme was

one Addison, who turned traitor. His betrayal cost the life of Lieut. Moody's younger brother, a young man of great promise, who was taken and hanged. Lieut. Moody escaped only with the greatest difficulty; while his aged father was bereft of reason from excess of grief at the loss of his favorite son.

STORY OF THE BIG BEAVER.

(A Maliseet Legend).

By Rev. W. O. Raymond, M.A.

It was on the 28th day of September, 1896, that the "Story of the Big Beaver" was told me at Rothesay by Sabatis Paul;[1] but first he told me his own story which in substance is as follows:

"I was born on the Indian camping place, near Woodstock, in 1841; left there when fourteen years of age and since have lived chiefly at French Village, above Fredericton. My father's name was Louis Paul—he was the "Mr. Paul" you white people used to read about in the St. John *Daily Sun*. He died a short time ago. My mother was Mary Elizabeth Francis, of Oldtown, Maine. Noel Paul, the old Indian chief at Woodstock, was my uncle. My grandfather was John Battis and his father was a Frenchman of Quebec. Nearly all the St. John River Indians now have some French blood in their veins and they are losing their old strength and endurance. I have worked in the lumber woods and at stream-driving. I drink no liquor and have authority as Indian constable to report all those who sell liquor to Indians."

Among other facts of interest mentioned by Sabatis Paul he stated that several Indian wampum belts are still preserved at "French Village" above Fredericton, but his father, Louis Paul, was about the last of the Indians who could read them. It was his father also who, at the request of the railway commissioners, gave Indian names

[1] Sabatis is a contraction of *Saint Jean Baptiste*, or St. John Baptist. It is a common name among the Indians; and those who bear it, generally when with English speaking people, use "John" as its equivalent. Sabatis Paul accordingly with white people is John Paul.

to the stations along the Intercolonial Railway. Some of these are real Indian names but some were manufactured for the occasion.[1]

Under an arrangement with the Dominion government a chief is elected by the St. John River Indians on the 4th day of June every third year.

This much by way of introduction and now for the Story of the Big Beaver. This story is told with some variety of detail by the Indians of Passamaquoddy as well as by our Sabatis Paul and by the well-known "Gabe" Acquin, of St. Mary's, York County. Gabe's version was contributed by the late Edward Jack to the "Journal of American Folk-lore" some years ago.

The Maliseets of the St. John river have many legends respecting Glooscap. According to Sabatis Paul he is "a great Indian sent a long while ago by the Great Spirit to kill all big bad beasts that are in all the world." In other words Glooscap is a mythical personage, allied to Longfellow's Hiawatha, possessed of supernatural power. According to the majority of the Indians he is still living and is going to last as long as the world lasts; he is believed to be in the south end of the world now.

In accomplishing his mission for the good of mankind, Glooscap summoned all the animals to appear before him and asked of each what he would do if he met a man. When the bear was asked the question he trotted off a short distance and looked over his shoulder — as he *generally* does now upon meeting a human being. Glooscap signified his approval.

The squirrel at that time was as big as a lion and when Glooscap asked him what he would do if he met a man, he flew at a stump furiously and tore it with his teeth and claws. Glooscap considered him altogether too dangerous an animal and reduced him to his present size. The Big Beaver, P'chee Qua-beet, had been the source of considerable annoyance to the other animals and was cautioned by Glooscap with regard to his future conduct.

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[1] These names were given about 1856 by the railway commissioners. Nauwigewauk, Ossekeag, Anagance and Petitcodiac are all old Indian names, but others are simply translations: "Stone's Brook" became Penobsquis, from the Maliseet *Penobsq'*, a stone, and *Sips*, a brook. Salmon River became Plumweseep from the Maliseet *Plumwee*, a salmon, and *seep*, a river. Quispamsis was named from the pretty little lake near the station, *quispam*, a lake, and *sis*, little. (See Dr. W. F. Ganong's "Place Nomenclature of New Brunswick," page 209).

In spite of the warning he had received, the beaver made himself very obnoxious by his behaviour at Passamaquoddy, and Glooscap determined to drive him away. He came to Passamaquoddy and climbed up the hill on the east side of Oak Bay, which the Indians call by the pretty little name N'monee-quen-ee-moosa-kesq, or "the place of many sugar maples." From the summit of this hill he saw the beaver's house, Quabeet-a-woosis, a dome-shaped island in Oak Bay, now called by the white people Cookson's Island. But the beaver had been warned of his danger and fled up the river Waweig whence he afterwards went to Men-ah-quesk (St. John) where he made a dam across the river at its mouth. He still continued his evil deeds and his dam was built so high it caused the water to flow back to Hampton Ferry and above Fredericton, and all the country from Jemseg to the Keswick became a Jim-quispam or great lake.

When Glooscap heard the beaver was still a source of annoyance he at once set out for Men-ah-quesk. He saw signs of the beaver's work at Mon-ha-quatis, or Manawagonish, and at Red Head he had abundant evidence of his proximity. Here the beaver had a feeding place which by the Indians is called Q'uabeet-a-wee-qua-sodek, which means "the beaver's landing place," but the name is now commonly contracted to Q'ua-sodek.

Glooscap explored See-bes-kas-tahgan (the Marsh Creek) as far as Moos-ow-tik, or the "Moose's Path," but not finding the beaver came back to the mouth of the St. John river where he found the beaver's dam. This he broke with a blow of his ponderous club and the great rush of water that followed swept a part of it out to sea. This fragment, according to the legend, is Partridge Island, which the Indians still call Quak-m'kagan'ik, or "a piece cut out," and they call the falls Quabeet-a-wee-sogado or "the beaver's rolling dam." Some Indians say that Split-rock, just below the Suspension bridge, is Glooscap's club which he threw away after it had served its purpose in the destruction of the dam. Jim-quispam was greatly reduced in size and became the modern Grand Lake.

Glooscap pushed on up the river in quest of the beaver. A little below Boar's Head there is, we are told by the Indians, to be seen to-day in the rocky cliff the face of a man with curly hair. This they call Glooscap-sa-kah-beet, or "Glooscap looking out." "I have tried," said Sabatis, "to show that face to white men and they could'nt

see it when they were looking right at it. They say that none but Indians can see it." Here the little Indian boy, standing at his father's side, broke in with the remark, "They say when you throw in a cent you can see him better. I tried it but it didn't make much difference, but I have often seen Glooscap looking out."

Still seeking the beaver, Glooscap went on and at length looking up the broad waters of Mah-ti-gek, or Kennebecasis Bay, he saw in the distance the beaver's house. This is still called by the Indians Q'ua-beet-a-woosis-sec, the beaver's nest. It is nothing less than the well-known cliff on the island opposite Rothesay called the "Minister's Face." The beaver was at home and his two younger brothers also. The beaver was very big and dangerous but Glooscap seized him in his brawny arms, strangled him and then flung him to the foot of the island several miles away, where the Indians point out certain reddish colored rocks which, according to the story, were stained by the beaver's blood.

Glooscap killed the second sized beaver also, but the youngest one got away and went up the St. John river. Glooscap followed him a little way and hurled after him two big rocks — So-bag-wopps or "sea-rocks,"[1] which may still be seen in the river a little below the mouth of the Tobique. The beaver eventually escaped to Toma-squatack, or Temisquata lake, where he built himself another house which is nothing less than the big hill about 1,000 feet high, opposite the mouth of the Cabano river, commonly called Mount Wissik. The name is evidently derived from the Indian Woosis-sec meaning "a nest." And so ends our Story of the Big Beaver.

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[1] These rocks are well known by lumbermen and others as the Tobique rocks. It is a curious fact that the rocks differ from all other rocks in the vicinity and resemble the black slate rocks at the Bay Shore, near Carleton, St. John.

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EDUCATIONAL REVIEW SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS.

CANADIAN HISTORY.

NUMBER FOUR.

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FRENCH CANADIAN LIFE AND CHARACTER, *James Vroom.*

THE STORY OF LAURA SECORD, *Frances E. Murray.*

ON THE STUDY OF ANCIENT MAPS (ILLUSTRATED), *W. F. Ganong, Ph.D.*

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PLACE-NAMES.

By George Johnson, Ottawa.

In a lecture on the "Place-Names of Canada," delivered about twelve months ago, I stated that in the Dominion there are 3,600 counties, townships, parishes and municipalities; about 9,000 post offices; several thousands of mountain ranges, mounts, lakes, rivers, streams, gulfs, bays, coves, harbours, inlets, capes, etc.—in all, many thousands of place-names and every name has a meaning. It had an origin and has a significance. Too many of us go through life without acquainting ourselves with the history of the place-names in our province and in our country. Yet the study is a very entertaining one and as agreeable a way of becoming intimate with the history of our storied past as can be imagined.

It is said that there is no royal road to learning. But the study of the history of our country by means of its place-names is a very near approach to the royal road. One is helped amazingly to retain the knowledge gained, by linking it to the names of places frequently on our tongues or seen every day in the newspapers. The name is a perpetual reminder of the story, and in these busy times we need constant reminders. Matthew Arnold in the "Scholar Gypsy" supplies a reason:

> "For each day brings its petty dust
> Our soon-choked souls to fill,
> And we forget because we must
> And not because we will."

The study of place nomenclature is not encumbered at the outset by a lot of scientific terms to frighten the student. Some studies have a dictionary of their own. In beginning the study of the application of electricity to machinery for the purpose of securing power to be converted into heat or into motion, one is apt to find his resolution falter and his will weaken when he looks at the dictionary of terms employed. Ohms and volts and amperes and farads and gausses and watts and dynes and joules and coulombs, and all the others of the thousands of words which have been added to the language because of man's success in harnessing the lightning and

compelling it to obedient service,—these bristling words have a repellant look about them. They are a quick-set hedge surrounding the pleasant garden and keeping out all but the very resolute. They are like the flaming sword the angel flashed in perpetual circle before the gate of Eden's garden. Entrance into the study of electricity is rendered greatly difficult by the terms used.

The study of bugs is all the more difficult because of the armour of Latin and Greek words with which entomology is encased. But place-nomenclature has only a very few words requiring definition.

The principles of place-name giving are gathered up into one word—*Onomatology*, which those of my young readers acquainted with Greek can easily separate into its two parts: *Onoma*, a name; and *logos*, a discourse; in simple terms, onomatology means "talks about names, their derivations, etc." Having mentioned the scientific name given to place-naming, I may as well mention, here and now, the fact that the central idea of onomatology — the axiom, like the axioms of geometry, that must be accepted as something not disputable,—is that local names are in no case arbitrary sounds. Isaac Taylor, who is a great authority on the place-names of "Old England," says, "Local place-names are always ancient words or fragments of ancient words, each of them, in short, constituting the earliest chapter in the local history of the places to which they severally refer."

There are two or three other words that may be deemed to be technical terms. There is the word *enchorial*. It carries the same meaning as indigenous. Possibly a better word would be autochthonic, meaning aboriginal.

When I was a boy Rev. Charles Churchill gave me this advice: "Never use a shilling word when a sixpenny one will do." Acting on that advice I prefer *aboriginal* to any of the words used. We speak of the Indians as aborigines, meaning that they belong in a peculiar degree to the soil, never having been brought into the country from outside countries, or having found their way here so many thousand years ago (according to Mr. Fiske in "Discovery of America)" that they may be deemed to be aboriginal in a sense that no white persons can be so considered. Referring to place-names, the word *enchorial* means, of course, the place-name which has been attached to the place because of some local peculiarity or by the Indian inhabitants. Other place-names are imported.

In the month of October last I was in St. John, and while going across the harbor to Carleton I heard the word *Ouangondy* used. This was the name of a ferry-boat that once plied between the shores and perhaps does so yet. It was, in almost the same form as at present used, the original name of the Indian village which hugged the reversible falls of the St. John River. "Sam Slick," I believe, misspelled the word in his "History of Nova Scotia," or else his printer, Joseph Howe, did, and from the book the original proprietors of the ferry-boat took the name. Well, the right name, *Ouigoudi*, it it had been continued as the name of the settlement, would be styled an enchorial name. St. John is an imported name, having been taken from the river to which the name was given by deMonts and Champlain in 1604 because they discovered it on St. John the Baptist's Day, following the very common custom of naming the newly found place after the saint on whose day it was discovered. You could keep track of such navigators as Columbus and Vespucci by the Saints' Calendar of the Roman Catholic Church. Cartier was fond of the same source for his place-names.

Other words frequently employed to distinguish place-names are *onomatopoean*, *patronymic* and *eponymic*. Any good dictionary will supply meanings for the first two. The third may be defined to be a "personal name evolved by popular speculation to account for some geographical term, the true meaning of which has not been understood;" as the speculation that France takes its name from Francus, a son of Hector, and Britain from Brydain, a son of Æneas, and Scotland from Scotia, a daughter of Pharoah. You know some people are very fond of tracing their ancestors as far back and as near to Noah as they can; some nations are like some people in that respect.

There are scarcely any other technical words employed in connection with place-nomenclature, and even these or most of them are used more or less in association with other branches of study.

The general definition of *enchorial* as opposed to *imported* is subject to some limitation. In a strict sense only Indian place-names would be enchorial. But since a great many places have been named by native-born whites in honor of native-born whites, or because the names given are descriptive, it is evident that we cannot draw a hard and fast line. The circumstances surrounding each place-name must be taken into account before we pronounce it enchorial or foreign.

For instance, Dr. Bell, of the Geological Survey, gave to a mountain in the region south of East Main River, the name of Mount Laurier and to a lake the name of Lake Beatrix. The mount's name would be enchorial, being after Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose ancestors were among the earliest to settle in New France; the lake's name would be foreign, being in honor of Lady Beatrix, daughter of Lord Lansdowne.

There is in Alberta a settlement to which the postal department has given the somewhat curious name of Jumping Pond. Years ago when the buffalo roamed our North West in millions, the Indians used to select certain places fitted by nature for their purpose of having a grand battle of the buffalo—a killing off of the poor animals on a grand scale. Near what we now call Jumping Pond is a high cliff. Towards this cliff the Indians by various devices headed the selected herd of buffalo, penning them in on three sides. Of course in their mad rush from the dangers that threatened them, they (the quadrupeds and not the bipeds) could not stop in their headlong flight but were forced over the cliff to be killed by their fall. This cliff the Indians called by a name which meant in their language the same as in our language is meant by the word "pound"—an enclosure into which cattle are driven. After a time the English called the place the Jumping Pound and then in process of time, the meaning being lost, the name became corrupted into Jumping Pond — the natural inference being that the pond or lake at the foot of the cliff was meant. Jumping Pond would be descriptive and might or might not be enchorial; Jumping Pound, being the translation of the Indian name, would surely be enchorial, *i. e.* an aboriginal place-name.

The history of the place-name must be sought before we can decide whether the name is imported or is home-made. This brings us to see that history is embalmed in place-names.

Some of the oldest names on the northern half of this continent have delightful histories connected with them. A long series of "stories about place-names" might be written, each of them giving sections of the history of our country in such a way as to fix that history very firmly in the minds of the lads and lasses of Canada for whom I am writing this account.

A very old name is that of Greenland. No doubt many school-children, dog-earing their map of Canada, have wondered why that white tongue of land which is thrust out from the upper left corner

(your right) should have Greenland printed on it. It is within the Arctic Circle. It is away up there in the vast region where Nansen passed some of the very coldest months of his life; where Franklin went to discover the North West Passage and to find that very elusive hole, the North Pole. It is the very cradle of those huge icebergs which in eternal procession pass along the shores of Labrador and Newfoundland and keep the sentinels of our ships (as they go from St. John and other ports across the North Atlantic) on the constant lookout; and yet it is called *Green*land, a name which suggests

> "The tender grass whose verdure clad
> Her universal face with pleasant green,"

or an abundant growth of those trees, the spruce and others, which we call "evergreen" and which give to the winters of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the brightness of variety. The French called a part of the territory of our neighbours *Vermont* — "the green mountain." There was reason for that,—the pines, spruces, firs and junipers of the region giving it that appearance all the year round. But why *Green*land? It is associated in our minds much more with Heber's hymn about "icy mountains" than with green fields and murmuring rivulets. Leopold Wagner in "Names and their Meaning" suggests that it was because of the moss-covering which the first visitor saw in the fiords into which his vessel was directed. The great Arago drew from the name the conclusion that the Arctic region must be very much colder now than it was when Greenland was first so named. He would not have made such a mistake if he had been acquainted with the vagaries of place-name givers, especially those of the sailor class.

Gilbert Parker, one of our Canadian novelists who has won fame by his writings, gives in that powerful novel, "The Battle of the Strong," an instance "to the purpose quite." He says, "you may range the seas from the Yugan Strait to the Erebus volcano and you will find no such landing-place for imps or men as that field of rocks on the south-east corner of the Jersey coast called, with a malicious irony, the Banc des Violets. At half tide, when the currents are changing most, the violet field becomes the floor of a vast mortuary chapel for unknowing mariners." It is the sort of Bank of Violets neither poet nor dreaming child would desire to rest on. The sarcasm consists, of course, in giving to this greedy, man-destroying body of

rocks the name of a flower which symbolizes innocence. There are scores of similar place-names scattered all over Canada.

However, let us get along with Greenland.

When the Christian era was more than a thousand years younger than it is, the King of Norway and the jarls (or earls) of Norway had a great sea-fight and the jarls came off second-best. The King thereupon insisted that the jarls should acknowledge his supremacy. Some of them could not bring themselves to do that. It was too humbling to their pride. They took the first opportunity and sailed away with their followers, taking different courses. Some turned their vessels' bows to Scotland. Some went to join their forerunner kinsmen in England and France to do pirates' work, and others wandered along the coasts as far as the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Some went to Iceland and created of it a very peculiar country, the subject of poem and prose for many a long day.

> "Here once o'er furthest ocean's icy path
> The Northmen fled at tyrant monarch's wrath;
> Here, cheered by song and story, dwelt they free,
> And held unscathed their laws and liberty."

These Vik-ings, as they are called, (from *Vic* a bay and *ing*, son, meaning the "sons of the Bay" or of the Fiord, the latter being the Northmen's word for a deep inlet of water) were adventurous beings. The rolling deep was their home and the life that charmed them most was life on the ocean wave. A couple of years after the migration to Iceland, one of them, Gunnbjorn by name, was driven by stress of weather to the country we now know as Greenland, then unnamed. He found his way back after being ice-locked for a winter. This is the first visit of a European to the western hemisphere of which there is authentic record. We have in "Gombar Scheer,"—the name of a dangerous reef of rocks,—the corrupted form of the first place-name bestowed by a European on this continent. Skerry, of which there are several in the British Isles, is Norse for "a cliff separating two bays." The original "Gunnbjorn's skerries" was a volcanic mountain isle. But the force of some eruption, when volcanoes were livelier up north than they are now, shattered the island and left nothing but the reef, and time has changed the original place-name into its present dilapidated state.

The Icelanders being good historians as well as good fighters, their chronicles of those early years are specially valuable and singularly

trustworthy. From some of the narratives of Gunnbjorn's experiences, Eric the Red had learned of the existence of the new found land of the far north; and having been put beyond the pale of decent society for killing a fellow countryman, he resolved to find out what he could of Gunnbjorn's land. This was in 983, over a century after Gunnbjorn's misadventure. With his personal followers he explored the coasts of the country and found at the head of one of the fiords, far within the water-worn, ice-bound crags of the coast, a spot for a home. It was a grassy plain, a lovely spot surrounded by icy mountains; a *green land* in the midst of "snaffels;" an oasis with all around it a desert of ice. He was a shrewd fellow was Eric, and he had already sketched out in his busy brain a definite purpose and plan. He would go to Iceland and tempt away by alluring descriptions of his green fields a sufficient number of his Vik-ing fellows to form a settlement. So he named it Greenland; for, said he, it is well to have a pleasant name if we would succeed in inducing men and women to come back with us.

With this story of a pleasant land Eric returned to Iceland and brought back in due time the first colony of European emigrants that ever settled on this western hemisphere. His two score and five vessels, loaded with people, were reduced to fourteen vessels, the others being lost. With half a thousand people he began the settlement, which in time found the original fiord too narrow, and a new settlement was formed in another fiord to which was given the name Erics-fiord. Other settlements followed, for this was no transient draft of people from Iceland. The settlements effected lasted for more than four centuries, during which time the inhabitants builded churches in which ten generations worshipped the Christian's God and endured the long winters and rejoiced in the short, hot summers when vegetation sprung to maturity by leaps and bounds. They tended their cattle; they mowed their grass fields and made the hay and carried on a flourishing trade with the Mother Isle, and the name of Greenland, originally applied to one fiord, became the name by which all the settlements were known in Iceland. Says Fiske, "the name thus given by Eric to this chosen spot has been extended by modern usage to the whole of the vast continental region north of Davis Strait, for the whole of which it is a flagrant misnomer."[1]

[1] After an existence of four centuries, they provoked the enmity of those fierce little raw-meat-eaters called the Eskimo (our friends the Esquimaux under a revised name), and these attacked the settlements in Greenland and wiped them off the face of the earth so that no vestige but ruined churches and piles of stone and a few place-names remain to remind us of the Scandinavian settlement which gave Greenland its name.

In continuing and extending the name Greenland we have but followed the plan adopted in Canada as well as in other countries. The country through which the St. Lawrence River flows was at first called New France; then as Cape Diamond (so called by Cartier because he picked up a stone which he thought was a diamond) was the great fortress of the region and as the river there become narrow for a short distance, widening out above and below, the place soon came to be known by the Indian name *Kepec*, a strait or narrow passage. It was natural, then, to call the whole region the Government of Quebec, as was done in the proclamation of George III under the Treaty of Paris, 1763. In our own day we have seen a similiar extension of a place-name in the case of the place-name "Canada," which word was employed in the Quebec Act of 1774 to designate the King's French-speaking subjects—"All His Majesty's Canadian subjects within the Province of Quebec." Then it came to be applied to the two provinces separated by the Act of 1791—Upper and Lower Canada. Then under the Union Act of 1841 the two sections were called Canada East and Canada West, till the word was applied by the Union Act of 1867 to the four provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario and Quebec, and is now applied to all the northern half of the continent, excepting Greenland on the east, Alaska on the west and Newfoundland.

Having satisfied ourselves about the way in which Greenland became one of the most ancient place-names of the continent we will not have far to search for the meaning of Greenland's place-names. They are of Scandinavian origin. They come to us from the old Vik-ings who gave place-names to the shores and bays and mountains and rivers of the British Isles. It is the one bit of Scandinavia there is in this new world. Here and there are isolated place-names of the same origin. There are Hecla, Husavick, Baldur, Thingvalla and others in Manitoba, named by the Icelanders, whose first settlement in the prairie province was in 1875, and of whom there were, in 1891, according to the census, 3,746 who were born in the Scandinavian countries, besides a goodly number born of Scandinavian parents, but whose birth-place is this Canada of ours.

FRENCH-CANADIAN LIFE AND CHARACTER.

EDITED BY J. VROOM.

The debt which the empire owes to the French-Canadians, Roberts asserts in his recent work,[1] is immeasurably greater than we at present realize. By their rejection of the proposals of the revolted colonies, he argues, the northern half of the continent was preserved to Great Britain; but for them, there would, in all likelihood, be no Canada to-day.

Other writers have sketched for us, with more or less friendly touch, the French-Canadian gentleman of rank; often poor, but not wretched; at home with his tenants, at home among the Indians, at home in the forays of the border wars, yet never forgetting his station in life; and the simple *habitant*, poorer still, who followed his seigneur in war and honored him in peace, made the most of the fleeting pleasures of life, and took no thought for the morrow. Roberts delights to fill in the picture with descriptions of the dwellings of the people and of their dress and social customs.

To condense from his pages:

The houses of the *habitans* were small cabins; humble, but warm; with wide, overhanging eaves. The walls within, to the height of a man's shoulders, were worn smooth by the backs that leaned against them. Solid wooden boxes and benches usually took the place of chairs. A clumsy loom, on which the women wove their coarse homespuns of wool or flax, occupied one corner of the main room; and a deep, box-like cradle, always rocking, stood beside the ample fireplace. Over the fire stood the long, black arms of a crane, on which was done most of the cooking; though the "bake-kettle" sometimes relieved its labors, and the brick oven was a stand-by in houses of the rich *habitans*, as well as of the gentry. For the roasting of meats, the spit was much in use; and there was a gridiron with legs, to stand on the hearth with a heap of hot coals raked under it. The houses even of the upper classes were seldom two stories in height; but they were generally furnished with a good deal of luxury, and in the cities they were sometimes built of stone. A typical country mansion, the dwelling of a seigneur on his own domain, was usually of the following fashion: The main building, one storey in height, but perhaps a hundred feet long, was surmounted by lofty gables and a very steep roof, built

[1] History of Canada, Chapter XII.

thus to shed the snow and to give a roomy attic for bedchambers. The attic was lighted by numerous high-peaked dormer windows, piercing the expanse of the roof. The main building was flanked by one or more wings. Around it clustered the wash-house, coach-house, barns, stable and woodsheds. This homelike cluster of walls and roofs was sheltered from the winter storm by groves of evergreen, and girdled cheerily by orchard and kitchen-garden. On one side, and not far off, was usually a village with a church-spire gleaming over it; on the other, a circular stone mill, resembling a little fortress rather than a peaceful aid to industry.

After describing the dresses of ceremony, the three-cornered hats and wide-frocked coats, the embroidered waist-coats, knee-breeches and silk stockings, with which we are more or less familiar in pictorial representations, the writer continues:

Out of doors, and in the winter especially, the costumes of the nobility were more distinctly Canadian. Overcoats of native cloth were worn, with large, pointed hoods. Their pattern is preserved to the present day in the blanket coats of our snow-shoers. Young men might be seen going about in colors that brightened the winter landscape. Gay belts of green, blue, red or yellow, enriched the waists of their thick overcoats: their scarlet leggings were laced up with green ribbons; their moccasins were gorgeously embroidered with dyed porcupine quills; their caps of beaver or marten were sometimes tied down over their ears with vivid handkerchiefs of silk. The *habitans* were rougher and more sombre in their dress. A black homespun coat, gray leggings, gray woollen cap, heavy moccasins of cowhide—this grave costume was usually brightened by a belt or sash of the liveliest colors. The country women had to content themselves with the same coarse homespuns, which they wore in short, full skirts; but they got the gay colors, which they loved, in kerchiefs for their necks and shoulders.

Of their social life and customs, he tells us:

The country houses of the seigneurs were the scene of many gaieties. Driving parties, picking up guests from each manor-house as they passed it, would gather at some hospitable abode. When tired of the stately dances then in fashion, the guests would amuse themselves with games such as now, when men seem less light-hearted and more self-conscious, are mostly left to children. "Hide the Handkerchief," "Fox and Geese," "My Lady's Toilet," and various games of forfeit, were among those that made life cheerful for the Canadians of old. Then there was riding in the summer; and in winter sledging over the crisp, glittering snow. Baptisms, betrothals, and weddings were made occasions of feast; on May-day the hoisting of the may-pole in front of the seigneur's house was accompanied by much merry making,—eating, drinking,

bonfires, and the firing of guns. This feast was the affair of the *habitant*, who for that day were the guests of the seigneur.

During the early days of the colony the *habitans* had lived chiefly on bread and eels. Throughout the early part of the eighteenth century they lived on salt meat, milk and bread for the greater part of the year; but in winter fresh meat was abundant. Travelling was pleasant, and from Christmas to Ash Wednesday there was a ceaseless round of visits. Half a dozen sleighs would drive up to a *habitant's* cottage. A dozen of his friends would jump out, stable their horses, and flock chattering into the warm kitchen. The housewife at this season was always prepared for guests. She had meats of various kinds roasted and put away cold. All she had to do was to thrust them into the hot oven, and in a few minutes the dinner was ready. At such times bread was despised by everybody, and sweet cakes took its place. When the *habitans*, as on May-day, were feasted by their seigneur, the table was loaded with a profusion of delicacies. Legs of veal and mutton, roasts and cutlets of fresh pork, huge bowls of savory stew, pies of many kinds shaped like a half-moon, large tarts of jam, with doughnuts fried in lard and rolled in maple sugar, were among the favored dishes.

Among the upper classes breakfast was a light meal, with white wine and coffee, usually taken at eight o'clock. Dinner was at midday, and supper at seven. Soup was always served at both these meals. On the great sideboard, filled with silver and china, which usually occupied one end of the dining room and reached to the ceiling, stood cordials to encourage the appetite. In one corner stood a water jar of blue and white porcelain, at which guests might rinse their hands before going to table. The table was served with great abundance of choice fish and game. Each person's place was supplied with napkin, plate, silver goblet, spoon and fork; but every one carried and used his own knife. To keep up the cheer of hearts that aids digestion, all the company sang in turn about the tahle, the ladies bearing their full share with the men. It was a happy and innocent life which sped in the manor-houses of the St. Lawrence, where the influence of Bigot and his crew was not allowed to reach.

There must have been another side to this picture in the ordinary life of the *habitant*, a life of privation and toil. We are accustomed to think of it with pity, and to contrast it with that of the New England colonist, living in thrifty comfort. But the Canadian *habitant*, though generally poor, was not miserable in his poverty. Between the French and the English as he found them in America, Charlevoix[1] thus draws a comparison:

In New England and the other British colonies, there reigns an opulence

[1] As quoted by Parkman in "The Old Regime in Canada."

by which the people seem not to know how to profit; while in New France poverty is hidden under an air of ease which appears entirely natural. The English colonist keeps as much and spends as little as possible: the French colonist enjoys what he has got, and often makes a display of what he has not got. The one labors for his heirs, the other leaves them to get on as they can, like himself.

Without disparaging the people of his own race, the English-speaking Canadian may yield a generous admiration to the virtues and traditions of his fellow-countrymen of another race and tongue—brave and adventurous; submissive to authority, though jealous of their rights and liberties; faithful in their allegiance; true to their religion and to themselves; the solid core, as Roberts well says, around which has grown the vast Confederation of Canada.

THE STORY OF LAURA SECORD.

By Frances E. Murray.

We are now nearing the close of the 19th century, and our thoughts naturally turn to the many events, the great changes which have marked its course. Wonderful inventions have made lighter "toil's heavy chain." Higher education, not merely in youth, but continued through life, has broadened our ideas and widened the horizon of thought. But great as have been the changes, human nature is still the same. Types of character reappear generation after generation. The quiet and studious go on dreaming and pondering, working out in silence ideas which are to dominate the future. The impulsive and daring are forever eager to try new fields of action and enterprise. Poets "hidden in the light of thought" are still "singing songs unbidden" as when Shelley gave us, eighty years ago, that exquisite ode. Home, its sweet duties and pleasures, occupy the same place in our hearts now as then. We are linked one to another and we *fin de siecle* people can go back to the early years of our century and find models of patience and endurance, of courage, loyalty and patriotism, with which we may feel in touch and from which we may catch a glow of enthusiasm, may receive a ray of inspiration.

For this reason I would recall as vividly as possible the memory of one whose deed of patriotic courage must now and always be told in Canadian history with pride and a tribute of admiration.

For many years Laura Secord's retiring disposition kept her name from public notice, but since her death Mrs. Curzon's spirited drama[1] has interested many in this episode of Canadian history which I now wish to repeat once more for the benefit of a younger set of readers.

Laura Secord was by birth an Ingersoll. Her father, Thomas Ingersoll, was one of the 10,000 United Empire Loyalists who at the trumpet call of duty and honor left their homes and all their earthly possessions in the United States to face the dangers and difficulties of life in the then almost unbroken wilderness of Upper Canada.

Little Laura Ingersoll was but a year old when her father came, (1776) at Gov. Simcoe's invitation, to Canada, and founded a settlement on the banks of the Thames, Oxford County. Thus all the young girl's early associations were connected with the adventures, the privations, the escapes, which marked those interesting years of our country's history. When she married, she "mated with one of her kind" for James Secord belonged to a large family of New Brunswick Loyalists, some of whom soon found their way to Western Canada.[2]

Mr. Secord owned a lumber mill and store at Queenston and there the young people settled; there many happy years of married life were spent, for they were a most devoted couple, and there four girls and one boy were born.

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[1] "*Laura Secord, the Heroine of 1812*" — a Drama — by Mrs. Sarah Anne Curzon, of Toronto, who died November, 1898.

[2] The family of Secord was a notable one. Documents exist which show that in the reign of Louis X, of France, a Marquis de Secor was a marshal of His Majesty's household. A son of this marquis and some younger branches of the family embraced the Protestant faith. During the persecution of the Huguenots, many of them were burnt and the family estates at La Rochelle were confiscated. The survivors escaped the massacre of St. Bartholomew by flight to England. Eventually five brothers emigrated to America where they settled in New Jersey, purchased land, founding New Rochelle and engaging in lumbering. On the breaking out of the Revolutionary war the family divided, the loyalists changing their patronym to Secord by placing the prefix "d" at the end of their name. These brothers after (as king's men) losing in common with all the loyalists their property and estates, emigrated to New Brunswick where many of their descendants still reside. Some members of this family afterwards moved to Canada West. Among those who settled in the Niagara district were three brothers, James Secord, husband of Laura, Major Secord, his older brother, and Stephen Secord the miller of St. David's.—*From Memoir of Laura Secord by Mrs. Curzon.*

In 1812, the quiet of this and many other happy homes was disturbed by the sound of war. Against the wishes of New Englanders, for flags were hung half-mast in Boston Harbor, against the judgment of many of the wisest and best in other parts of the United States, President Madison declared war against England and sent an invading army into Canada. There was an instantaneous outburst of loyalty. Canadian militiamen vied with the regulars of the British army in their efforts to repulse the intruders. Mr. Secord, who a few months before had resigned his company and left the militia, now offered his services as a volunteer. The Americans were driven back, and at Detroit were forced to capitulate. At Queenston Heights, after a hotly contested struggle, the victory was ours, although brave General Brock was killed. Many were left dead or dying on the battlefield, among them Laura Secord's husband. He would soon have died of his wounds, had not his devoted wife made a long and harrowing search. She found him, wounded in leg and arm and fainting from loss of blood. The quiet home became a quieter sick-room where the wounded man was gradually nursed back into life. As soon as possible, the family moved to a farm-house in the country for the benefit of the invalid, but Mr. Secord never fully regained his health or strength.

The invasion was renewed the next year, 1813, and the Americans for a short time again occupied Queenston. A cordon of sentries was stretched out ten miles from the frontier, and the Secord's farm-house, being within that limit, was liable at any time to the entrance of the enemy's soldiers demanding a meal. Once after breakfasting three men, one remarked, "You have a nice place here, missis; when we come for good to this country we'll divide the land and I'll take this here for my share." Mrs. Secord replied sharply, "You rascal, you, all you'll ever get here will be six feet of earth." In a few days two of the men returned. "You were right, missis, about the six feet of earth"—one of the men had been killed. At another time the house was searched for money. Mrs. Secord had a small store of Spanish doubloons which she saved by throwing them into a pot of boiling water which hung on a crane over a blazing fire.[1]

Meantime the fighting went on with varying success. The Americans captured Fort York (Toronto) and Fort George (Niagara) but were surprised, defeated and driven back at Stoney Creek (Hamilton)

[1]From notes to Mrs. Curzon's drama "*Laura Secord.*"

by Colonel Harvey and his "green tigers," as the men of the 49th were called. In retaliation, an attack was planned upon Lieutenant Fitzgibbon at Beaver Dams (Thorold). This outpost was guarded by a detachment of the 49th, a few Indians and a squad of militia, in all about two hundred men. An American force of five hundred men, fifty dragoons and two field pieces, under Colonel Boerstler, was to set out from Fort George (Niagara) on June 23rd to take Fitzgibbon's outpost by surprise. The evening before a noisy party of soldiers had supped at the Secords. Mrs. Secord, while giving directions to the maid who waited on the men, was startled by some words dropped by one of the party, and listening attentively she soon heard the whole plan discussed. With a woman's quick decision she determined at once to warn Fitzgibbon of his danger. But how was it to be done? Her husband had been crippled by his wounds. Her brother also was lying seriously wounded at St. David's mill. There was but one way. She herself must undertake the dangerous walk of twenty miles through the forest. After obtaining with some difficulty her husband's consent, she rose before dawn June 23rd, set the breakfast table so that any chance visitor might suppose her at home, took a milk pail on her arm to serve as an excuse to the sentries, and driving the cow away instead of towards the house she escaped suspicion. Her first rest was at St. David's mill where her sister-in-law, the widow of Stephen Secord lived, and where her brother Charles then was. Both tried in vain to dissuade her from her perilous undertaking.

At home, meanwhile, the children were told that their mother had gone to visit their sick uncle, but they noticed and wondered at their father's unusual restlessness and anxiety as the long hours of that weary day dragged on.

After leaving the mill Laura took a path across the meadow and plunged at once into the forest. This nearly doubled the distance; but on the highway she certainly would have been arrested. We can scarcely realize the fatigue, the anxiety, the danger of that long, hot, weary June day. Little rivulets at this time of year were running in every direction, making the mossy ground swampy and the walking heavy; sometimes her feet would stick in a clayey bank and her shoes get clogged with the yellow earth; then she would have to stumble for a short distance over a half-sunken corduroy road. She climbed over trunks of trees fallen across the path and fought her

way through thick, tangled underbrush, while black flies and mosquitoes innumerable swarmed about her. Under such circumstances a ten-mile walk is considered a good day's work for a man,[1] but Laura had covered nineteen miles in that time. At sunset she found herself on the bank of a swift stream—the twelve mile creek. It grew dark, wolves howled in the distance; but, nothing daunted, she clambered on hands and knees along a mossy log which overhung the stream, and, crossing, she found herself at the foot of Beechridge, up which she had a hard, fatiguing climb. When the moon rose she had reached the Indians who formed the vanguard of Fitzgibbon's little force. The rest of the story must be told in her own words: "As I approached they all arose with one of their war-yells, which indeed awed me. You may imagine what my feelings were to behold so many savages. With forced courage I went to one of the chiefs, told him I had great news for his commander and that he must take me to him or they would all be lost. He did not understand me, but said: 'Woman! what does woman want here?' The scene by moonlight to some might have been grand, but to a weak woman certainly terrifying. With difficulty I got one of the chiefs to go with me to their commander. With the intelligence I gave him, he formed his plans and saved his country."

When Laura reached headquarters, her skirt and jacket were in tatters, her hood had been lost in the forest, her shoes were worn off her feet. Lieut. Fitzgibbon was perfectly amazed at the courage and daring of the noble woman who had undertaken and successfully accomplished such a dangerous expedition. But his gratitude exceeded his astonishment when he found what an important service she had rendered. Every attention was shown her; for, he says, "Mrs. Secord was a person of slight and delicate frame, and made the effort in weather excessively warm, and I dreaded at the time she must suffer in health in consequence of fatigue and anxiety, she having been exposed to danger from the enemy, through whose line of communication she had to pass." An escort was detailed to conduct her to a friend's house three miles distant "where (she writes) I slept right off, for I had journeyed on feet twenty miles and safely. God be praised."

The attack the next morning (June 24) on Lieut. Fitzgibbon's outpost and its defeat are matters of history. The little force was placed

[1] See Coffin's *Chronicles of the War.*

in ambush and on sides of the road, and every precaution was taken to make it appear that there was a large force in reserve. When the advance guard of the American riflemen appeared, a volley from the woods emptied their saddles. Soon firing came from all directions and bugle calls and Indian yells. The bewildered enemy imagined themselves in presence of a much larger force. Colonel Boerstler finding that his men were losing heavily from the fire of the unseen foe, consented to surrender. By the capitulation five hundred and forty-two men, two field pieces, and the colors of the 49th U.S. regiment were delivered over to the Canadians.[1]

Three days afterwards, Mrs. Secord returned to her anxious husband in a comfortable conveyance, along the high road, for the enemy had left the country; and most thankful she was for the success of her dangerous undertaking and its great results.

In 1814 war was renewed, but before the year ended the treaty of Ghent was concluded. "War's tempestuous vultures" had to "fold their wings and sleep," and peace descended upon the land. During the three years of war between the Canadians and Americans there had been fifteen engagements; the British and Canadians had gained eleven, the Americans four of these fights.

Mrs. Secord lived to a good old age in the retirement of her happy home. She had several beautiful daughters, one of whom was called the "Belle of Canada." After her husband's death in 1841, she resided with her grandson, Mr. James Secord of Niagara, who writes, "My grandmother was of a modest disposition. She was the very last to mention the exploit, and unless asked would never say anything about it." There was one exception to this reticence. When the Prince of Wales visited Canada in 1860 the veteran Canadian soldiers at the Niagara frontier signed an address to His Royal Highness. Laura Secord claimed the privilege of signing also. This was readily granted as soon as the memory of her brave deed was recalled.

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[1] Lieut. Fitzgibbon belonged to an old but impoverished Irish family. His passion for arms was irresistible. At seventeen he enlisted and was at once made a sergeant. At twenty-one he was made sergeant-major. He served before Copenhagen where the 49th acted as Marines. In 1802 he was appointed to an ensigncy and came to Canada. In 1809 he succeeded to a lieutenancy. His exploits at Beaver Dam gave him his company. He thus rose by dint of meritorious service. At the close of the war he settled in Canada and filled several offices under the government. He retired on a pension and returned to England where in just appreciation of his services he was made a military knight of Windsor.—Mrs. Curzon.

And not only so but the Prince, hearing of the circumstances visited her that he might learn her story from her own lips, and on his return to England he sent her £100 as a souvenir of his visit. Her loyal heart was much gratified by these acts of kindness, and the Royal visit was no doubt one of the brightest events of her declining years. In November, 1867, she sank peacefully to rest at the advanced age of 93, and was buried in Drummondville churchyard.

Sleep, Laura Secord, resting well,
Serenely pillowed 'neath the grass;
Tender and reverent be the steps
That by thy green grave pause and pass.
The while across the ages long,
Oh faint, oh far sweeps down a song,
From graves of heroes of our race,
From many an honored resting place:—
"Numbered with us on glory's roll,
Be this Canadian's dauntless soul."

[*From a Ballad of the War of 1812, by Ellen Murray.*

ON THE STUDY OF ANCIENT MAPS, ILLUSTRATED BY FOUR OF THOSE OF THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE.

By W. F. Ganong, Ph.D.

Very few people have any idea of the great abundance of old maps that exist representing parts of Canada. I was once shown a map of New Brunswick dated about 1830, and told by its owner that it was the first map of that province ever made. I was able to tell him that there are over two hundred printed maps of earlier date showing the province or parts of it with some accuracy. From the very first discovery of America, the explorers made maps to show the results of their voyages, and the professional mapmakers of Europe were busy collecting and compiling their sketches into larger general maps. Thus the maps reflect with the greatest clearness the successive stages in the exploration of new countries, and it is a matter of the greatest interest

to trace, with the narratives of the explorers in hand, the gradual evolution of geography from the stage where a great blank space represents a sea or a continent, through a series showing gradually increasing accuracy and detail, down to the complete maps of the present day.[1]

The earliest maps are very crude and full of errors. The first explorers had neither the means nor the time for making accurate surveys, and could make their maps only by the aid of general compass directions and a few crude measurements of the speed of their ships,—such maps in fact as we now call "sketch maps." Nor were these maps copied accurately by the professional mapmakers; for the outlines were not closely followed and the names of places were misspelled and in other ways altered with the greatest carelessness, thus making cartography, or the study of old maps, by no means an easy study, nor one in which all students can come to an agreement. Still, as partial compensation for this, many of the old maps are most artistically ornamented and colored, so that it is a delight to possess and study them. They often also have their odd spaces filled with pictures of men, animals, cities, etc., and these pictures in themselves are at times of great historic interest and value.

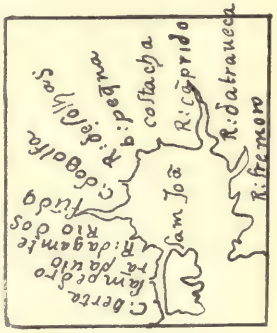

FIG. 1 — PORTUGUESE MAP OF VIEGAS BEFORE 1534.

The fact of greatest importance about old maps is this, they do not show a gradual improvement from the earliest times down to the present, but the improvement goes by leaps, as it were, with long intervals between when the maps not only do not become better, but, through carelessness in copying, become actually worse. This was because the mapmakers could gain no new knowledge for the improvement of their maps, excepting such as was furnished to them by the explorers, who were few in number and far apart. When an explorer came home, the maps became suddenly better, then gradually worse until another returned, and so on.

[1] This has been done for New Brunswick in a monograph in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. III (1897). From this work the accompanying four figures are taken. As these are intended to illustrate New Brunswick only, the names are all omitted, except on the New Brunswick coast. All are but parts of large maps.

Some of the most important facts about old maps are illustrated by the four given herewith, which show the effects of the voyages of Cartier upon the maps of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The reader will do well to examine them with a good modern map of the Gulf before him, and also to read in this connection the sketch of a part of Cartier's first voyage, already given in No. 1 of this series of readings.

Before the voyages of Cartier, the Gulf of St. Lawrence was shown on the maps merely as a rounded indentation in a nearly continuous coast line of Eastern North America, and one of the very best of these maps

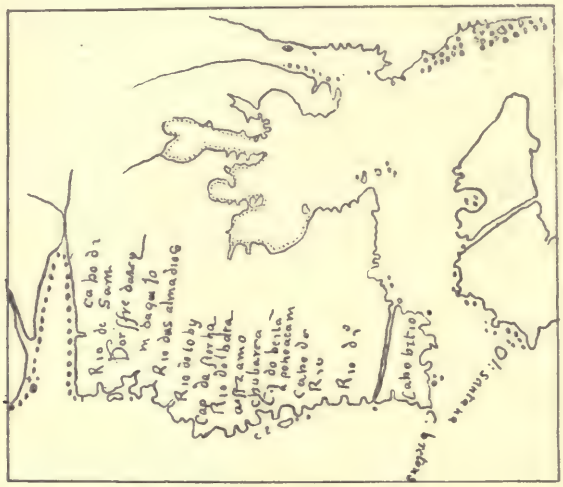

FIG. 2—MAP MADE BY JEAN ROTZ, DATED 1542; REALLY BELONGING TO 1535.

is given in Figure 1. Hardly any feature and not a single name can be recognized; even the straits of Belle Isle are not shown. Figure 2 is an early map showing the first voyage, but not the later ones, of Cartier. Erroneous as it is, it is yet an immense advance over those that preceded it. Unfortunately no names of places are given in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but these can be supplied from Figure 3, which shows the effects of Cartier's second voyage also. Cartier's narrative makes it plain that *y de margaux* is what is now called Bird Islands, and *ye de brion* is still called Brion Id., while *Allezay* is a small island at the southwestern end of the Magdalene

Islands. Both Figures 2 and 3, however, show the Magdalene Islands united to the coast to the southward, a natural mistake, for Cartier coasted only along their northwestern side. *R. des barques* was Richmond Bay on P. E. Island.[2] *C. dangoulesme* is another name for *Cape Orleans* which is the present Cape Kildare. *C. despoir* was the north point of Miscou Island. Figure 2 shows Anticosti merged with the mainland to the south as Cartier thought it was on his first voyage, though he corrected this error on his second, as Figure 3 shows. It was from the strait north of Anticosti that he turned back to

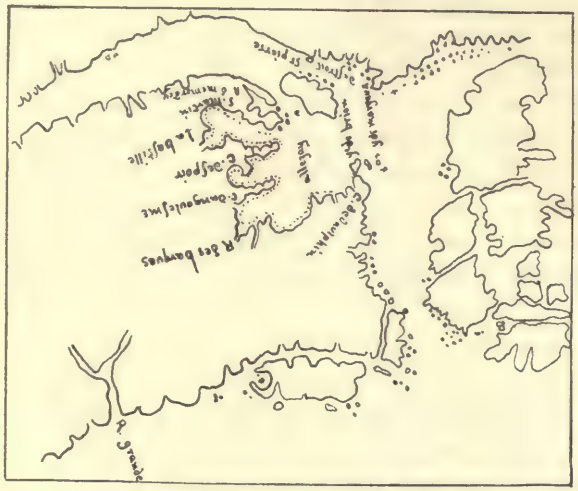

FIG. 3—MAP MADE BY HARLEY, DATED 1542, BUT BELONGING ABOUT 1537.

return to France from his first voyage, and hence the St. Lawrence river is left blank on Figure 2, but it was explored by him on the second voyage and hence is shown on Figure 3. The great error on these two maps, however, is the fusion of the Magdalene Islands with the mainland, but this is entirely corrected in Figure 4, one of the earliest maps showing the complete effects of Cartier's voyages. If one, however, attempts to compare the names on this map with those on Figure 3, he will find some differences, partly due to careless copying

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[2] See page 10 in No. I of this series of readings.

and partly to the presence of additional names omitted by the maker of the earlier map. From this time on until the appearance of Champlain's maps in 1613, many maps of the Gulf of St. Lawrence were

FIG. 4—MAP MADE BY DESCELIERS IN 1546.

published, but none of them were any better, and most of them were worse, than that made by Desceliers (Figure 4). This, of course, was because there was no map-making explorer in the Gulf during that interval. These maps will give some idea of the value and difficulties of the study of old maps, a subject certain to receive from historians much more attention in the future than it has in the past.

A SCHEME FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA IN 1746.

By Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the New York Public Library.

Great Britain's acquisition of the vast domain of Canada, by the treaty of 1763, was the realization of a hope long cherished. The reduction of this "thorn in the side" of the neighboring English colonies had been attempted in 1690, under Sir William Phips, and in 1711 under Sir Hovenden Walker. The attempt of the former ended ingloriously, while that of the latter proved a fiasco.

From the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, until the open rupture in 1744, a nominal peace reigned. The declaration of war between Great Britain and France in the latter year equally involved their colonial possessions in conflict. On 17th June, 1745, Louisburg, the richest American jewel that had ever adorned the French crown, capitulated to the daring of the New Englanders under General William Pepperrell, aided by a fleet commanded by Commodore Peter Warren. The successful issue of this enterprise gave the English entire command of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and thus enabled them to cut off Quebec from all hope of succor from France. It also facilitated the conquest of Canada itself.[1] The victory was hailed with acclamation throughout the colonies, and a hope was expressed that no peace negotiations should ever be set on foot with France in which the restoration of Cape Breton should as much as be mentioned.[2]

The Canadians were apprehensive of a British invasion; but made vigorous preparations to repress it. They learned the English plans by means of scouting parties, from the English prints, and more especially from the English colonists captured on the frontiers by their various incursions, and whom they held in confinement at Quebec.[3]

In the English-American provinces an expedition against Canada was looked upon by some as a chance for "fine plundering;"[4] while to others it appeared to afford advantages "inconceivably great to the Crown of Britain."[5] Indeed, the original suggestions of October,

[1] *Memoirs of the Principal Transactions of the Last War.* Third edition. *Boston*, 1758; p. 33.

[2] Parker's *New-York Post-Boy*, No. 164, for March 10, 1746. The article itself is dated December 28, 1745.

[3] The whole subject of rumors and French anticipatory action can be studied from *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. x; and *Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr., New York*, 1896.

[4] *Post-Boy*, No. 178, for June 16, 1746.

[5] *Post-Boy*, No. 173, for May 12, 1746.

1745, comprehended the enlistment of 20,000 provincials, who should be offered, as an inducement, "the plunder of the country; as well as the lands of the Canadians." In official quarters—and none the less among the populace—it was judged that the acquisition of Canada would secure the fish and fur trade, deprive the French of provisions and lumber for their sugar islands, greatly diminish the trade of France, secure the English possessions in America—hitherto greatly incommoded, and put a halt to the building of French war vessels, then carried on in Canada.[1] Governor William Shirley, in his speech to the Council and House of Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay, 28th June, 1746, told them it was but folly to consider Nova Scotia in security so long as the French continued to be masters of Canada.[2] He but spoke the truth from a bitter experience.

Soon after the conquest of Louisburg, Shirley was called there to quell the discontent which had arisen among the provincials. His mission accomplished, he returned to Boston early in December. But while at Louisburg he had concerted measures with Pepperrell and Warren, for an expedition against Canada the following year. The project was communicated to the Duke of Bedford, then at the head of the admiralty, and was well received.

The fighting strength of all Canada, according to the best available information, was judged not to exceed 12,000 men, inclusive of the regulars; and the Indian allies were computed to be about 900.[3] The winter of 1745-1746 intervened. On 14th March, 1746, the Duke of Newcastle,[4] then at the helm of the government, wrote to the various American governors, that "should it be judged advisable to undertake any attempt upon the French settlements in the New World, they should take the proper measures for raising a body of

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[1] *Chalmers' Papers relating to Canada*, 1692-1792, in New York Public Library.

[2] *Journal of the Representatives of Mass.-Bay*, 1746, p. 71.

[3] *Memoirs of Last War*, p. 60.

[4] Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and of Newcastle-under-Lyne, was born 21st July, 1693, and died 17th November, 1768. He is described as having been "nervous and pompous, always in a hurry, and always behind hand; ignorant of common things, and not learned in any sense." He certainly made a great fiasco of the plan to reduce Canada. Lecky says he vastly increased the evil of shameless corruption in the affairs of the government, "discredited and degraded his party, and left the standard of political morality lower than he found it."—*History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. II, pp. 438-40.

men for that purpose."[1] This was but the suggestion of a fact soon to follow.

On 9th April, 1746, Newcastle despatched letters by the sloop of war *Hickingbrook*[2] to the governors of all the provinces from New England to Virginia. The packet with the royal orders reached Governor Shirley on 26th May, and he immediately forwarded the documents to the different governments by land expresses. He evinced his own interest by his personal correspondence, in which he urged co-operation. He was very zealous for the cause, and hoped that the Massachusetts-Bay government would set a good example to the others. The royal orders required the several governments to raise as large a body of men as the shortness of the time would warrant. The King did not limit the number of men for each province, neither did he require special allotments. But he hoped and expected that the united levies would not be less than five thousand.[3]

The scheme concerted in England varied very little from the suggestions which had been forwarded previously from America. It was agreed that the land forces should be commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Sinclair,[4] while Rear-Admiral Warren was to look after the royal fleet. The plan of operations was not made irrevocable. Sinclair, Warren and Shirley were entrusted with such alterations as circumstances would require or good judgment might suggest. By the original instructions the companies raised in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia were to rendezvous at Albany. The command of this contingent was given to William Gooch, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia; but he pleaded indisposition, and declined to serve. Governor George Clinton, of New York, who was virtually responsible for the success of this part of the plan, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel John Roberts as Gooch's successor.[5] From

[1] *Chalmers' Papers*, as before.

[2] So in *Mass. Journal*, 29th May, 1746. Also spelled Hinchinbrook in Penn. "*Votes*," vol. IV (*Phila.* 1774), p. 37.

[3] Hutchinson. *Hist. of Mass.*, 3rd edit., vol. II, p. 381.

[4] Gen. James Sinclair (also written St. Clair) was the second son of Henry, eighth Lord Sinclair. He entered the army at an early age, and rose in the ranks, becoming lieutenant-general on 4th June, 1745, and had command of the British troops in Flanders, prior to the appointment for this Canadian expedition. He died 30th November, 1762, while governor of Cork, Ireland.

[5] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. VI, p. 314. Roberts was an experienced soldier, having served since the days of George I. He was also connected by his first marriage to the Earl of Halifax.

Albany these troops were to make a descent upon Montreal and lay waste the settlements on the upper St. Lawrence.

The provincials of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut were to rendezvous at Louisburg as soon as possible, where they were to await the arrival of Gen. Sinclair, the eight battalions of regulars, and the fleet commanded by Warren. This was the main guard, which was charged with the capture of Quebec. While they proceeded up the St. Lawrence, the men at Albany were to march on to Montreal. The blow was to be struck simultaneously. The plans were well laid, and gave every earnest of success.[1]

So soon as the governors had received the Duke of Newcastle's instructions of 9th April, they convened their several councils and legislatures, and urged immediate action. The whole number of fighting men within the colonies aggregated 340,000.[2] Massachusetts-Bay took the initiative, and signalized itself in a manner no whit inferior to its action in the Louisburg expedition. Although greatly burdened by the loss of about 2,000 men in that campaign, they cheerfully and speedily made liberal appropriations, and equipped 3,500 men in less than six weeks time. In 1712, Jeremy Dummer had written a letter in which he said: "I am sure it has been the Cry of the whole Country ever since Canada was deliver'd up to the French: *Canada est delenda;* They always look'd upon it as a Carthage to the Northern Colonies, which if they did not destroy, it would in Time destroy them." These words were singularly suited to the present occasion, and Shirley read them during the speech with which he adjourned the General Court on 28th June, 1746.[3] It appears that New Hampshire expected to equip 1,000 men, though some authorities suggest that only 500 took the field. Yet, Gov. Wentworth, in his requisitions to England for reimbursement, says his province raised 733 men. Rhode Island voted three companies of 100 men each—a standard for companies required by the royal instructions—and expended more than

[1] The material for a study of the scheme is ample. The chief sources are *Chalmers' Papers Relating to Canada*, transcripts from original documents in the English State Paper Office; *Memoirs of Last War*, p. 61; Rolt. *Impartial Representation*, vol. IV (*London 1750*), pp. 345 and 346; Hutchinson *Hist. of Mass.*, 3rd edit., vol. II, pp. 380 and 381; *N. Y. Colonial Docs.*, vol. VI; and the printed *Votes*, *Journals* and *Records* of the several colonies engaged in the expedition.

[2] *Chalmers' Papers.*

[3] *Mass. Journal*, 1746, p. 67.

£10,000 sterling, exclusive of a special bounty to each soldier.[1] The General Assembly of Connecticut, in May, 1746, agreed to furnish 600 men, but increased the number to 1,000 at its June session.[2] A census of New York, taken in 1746, shows that the white males between the years of 16 and 60 numbered but 12,522, exclusive of Albany County, which could not be computed because of the enemy.[3] Nevertheless this province provided 1,600 men, and also four "independent" companies of 100 men each. It also conciliated the Five Nations of Indians, through the instrumentality of Col. William Johnson, whom the Indians themselves had chosen to be their colonel.[4] New Jersey voted 500 men, and by its appropriations impaired its own treasury. Col. Peter Schuyler, who commanded the New Jersey companies, also advanced some thousands of pounds "out of his own estate" to keep his men together.[5] But in doing so he reaped the displeasure of New York's governor, who bitterly complained to the mother country, asserting that Schuyler's action had caused desertions and mutiny among the unpaid provincials. The legislature of Pennsylvania was controlled by Quakers, who, while affirming allegiance to the King's commands, so far as their religious persuasions would permit, objected to being "concerned in war-like Enterprises."[6] Gov. George Thomas, therefore, raised 400 men, without an act of government, and clothed, armed and equipped them on his own credit. Maryland contributed 300 men, who were ready for the field by 25th July, and its Assembly voted £4,500, currency, on 26th June, and £900, currency, and £200, sterling, on 12th November, for their equipment and maintenance. Virginia, though given special honors, in the person of Gov. Gooch, contributed a very unequal proportion. She could raise only 100 men, and even they were not ready before the middle of August. In October, 1746, this Virginian contingent still

[1] *R. I. Records*, vol. v, pp. 172 and 236. It might be said that all the colonies gave special inducements, in one way or another, to favor an enlistment.

[2] *Public Records of Conn.*, vol. ix, pp. 211 and 231.

[3] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. vi, p. 392. New York's official action in behalf of the scheme, can be studied from *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of New York*, vol. ii (*New York, 1766*).

[4] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. vi, p. 379.

[5] N. J. *Votes*, 13th June, 1746; and 7th Jan., 1748.

[6] Penn. *Votes*, vol. iv (*Phila.*, 1774), p. 38.

lay encamped within the fort at New York city, waiting to proceed to Albany, the place of rendezvous.[1]

Hopes ran high. The men at Albany and at Louisburg eagerly waited for the regulars and the fleet, since their arrival was to sound the alarm for action. The Indian allies of New York thirsted for a chance to revenge themselves. In England a fleet and many transports had been collected at Portsmouth; but after several embarkations and debarkations, the British ministry altered the destination of the English regulars, for a descent on Brittany in France.[2]

On 30th May, 1747, the Duke of Newcastle directed that the Americans be disbanded, save a few hundred who might be required to garrison Louisburg. In October, Shirley and Knowles issued a proclamation "that the King, finding it necessary to employ the greater part of his forces to aid his allies and to defend the liberties of Europe, had thought proper to lay aside for the present the intended expedition against Canada."[3]

There seems to have been no disposition of allowing the Americans to make the attempt unaided by the regulars. It does not require a stretch of the imagination to ascertain the causes. For the Duke of Bedford had opposed such proposals when the scheme was first suggested by Shirley; representing to Newcastle the imprudence of the idea, "after the experience we have had of their conduct and principles, on account of the independence it might create in those provinces when they shall see within themselves so great an army possesst of so great a Country by right of Conquest." He wished to place the chief dependence on the fleet and army to be sent from home, and "to look on the Americans as useful only when joined with others."[4] The adoption by the home government of Bedford's policy, shows that his view was entertained by others in authority.

Thus ended a scheme which had been well-concerted, and which gave every promise of success. It had been undertaken at the expense of the mother country, and failure to execute it proved a tremendous waste.[5]

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[1] There is a rather caustic criticism of Virginia in *New-York Post-Boy*, No. 190, for Sept. 8, 1746.

[2] Rolt., vol. IV, p. 346.

[3] *Chalmers' Papers*. The proclamation is also printed in *Records of Rhode Island*, vol. V.

[4] *Chalmers' Papers:* and manuscript of vol. II of Chalmers' *Revolt of the Colonies*. Both are in New York Public Library.

[5] An elaborate report of the respective claims by the colonies for reimbursement, dated February, 1749–1750, shows that the total sum charged was £273,139 1s. 11¼d, and the amount actually paid out was £235,817 1s.—*Chalmers' Papers*.

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THE ACADIAN PEOPLE.

By James Hannay.

There are now upwards of one hundred thousand persons of French origin in the Maritime Provinces, the great majority of whom are known as "Acadians" because they are the descendants of the French settlers who were brought out to this country when it was a colony of France and was called "Acadia." The first settlement of Acadia took place in 1604, under de Monts and Champlain, but the place selected, St. Croix Island, proving unsuitable, the little French colony was removed to Port Royal in the spring of 1605. The colonists consisted of farmers and artisans, men well suited to the business they had in hand, but the colony was finally broken up by an English expedition from Virginia, under Argal, in 1613. There does not appear to have been any further attempt by the French to establish a settlement at Port Royal for about twenty years. In the meantime, Sir William Alexander had obtained from James I. of England, a grant of the country, and had established a colony of Scotchmen at Port Royal. This colony was, in its turn, broken up when Acadia was restored to France under the terms of the treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye, made in 1632. Some of these Scotch colonists, however, remained in Acadia and mingled with the French settlers who were brought out after the country was restored to France.

It does not appear that any of the French of Champlain's colony remained in Acadia, although one or two of them went to Quebec. The origin of the Acadians therefore dates from the year of 1633, when Isaac de Razilly brought out a number of French settlers to La Have. Between that year and 1638, de Razilly and his lieutenant, Charnisay, brought out some sixty families of colonists, most of whom appear to have remained in Acadia. These people were all workers, mainly farmers and fishermen, with a few artisans, such as blacksmiths, carpenters and coopers, who were necessary to do the little work of the colony. At first they were settled at La Have, but a few years later most of them were removed to Port Royal, the name then given to the region about Annapolis, which must be regarded as the mother settlement of Acadia.

The French colonists who settled Acadia, came from Rochelle, Saintonge and Poitou, on the west coast of France, a tract of country

which has some features in common with Acadia; a country of marshes from which the sea was kept out by artificial dykes. This fact had a considerable influence on the settlement of Acadia, for the French dealt with the marsh lands of Port Royal in the same manner as they had treated similar marshes in France, and they depended upon them almost entirely for their sustenance. The marsh lands of Acadia were so extensive that they were much more than sufficient to maintain the population for more than a century, and for that reason the Acadians cleared a very limited area of forest land during their long occupation of the country. Acadia therefore remained a land of "forest primeval" until the English began to settle it, about the year 1760.

The sixty families of French who came out under de Razilly and Charnisay were the true founders of the Acadian people; for although other persons came from time to time to the little colony, there was no immigration of whole families, and only four women are known to have come to Acadia after the period of the original immigration, already mentioned. Therefore, although new names appear from time to time in the lists of Acadian settlers, they were merely those of individuals, such as discharged soldiers and transient working men, who had concluded to settle in the country and whose wives belonged to the original Acadian stock. This has given a unity to the Acadian people such as is hardly to be found in any other community, and has caused them to differ very materially, in appearance and otherwise, from the French Canadians of the province of Quebec.

The first census of Acadia of which we have any record was taken in the year 1671, when there were found to be seventy-five families, numbering four hundred and forty-one persons. The largest settlement was at Port Royal, where there were sixty-eight families, numbering three hundred and sixty-three persons. The manner in which these Acadians lived is very clearly shown by the details of this census. They depended largely upon their cattle and sheep. Of the former they possessed eight hundred and sixty-six, or almost two for every man, woman and child in the colony, and of the latter four hundred and seven. They had four hundred and twenty-nine acres of land under cultivation, and had harvested that year four thousand three hundred bushels of grain. It is evident that this statement of land under cultivation could only have referred to the land actually tilled in that particular year, and did not include the land upon which

hay was cut or that devoted to pasture. The grain produced, assuming it to have been wheat, was fully double the quantity that the little colony could use for food, and the produce of the cattle must have been much more than would be required for the support of these families. The surplus was sold to feed the little French garrison which was always stationed at Port Royal; and when Acadia passed into the hands of the English, in 1710, the custom was continued and the English garrison of Annapolis had their wants supplied by the produce of the farms in the vicinity of the fort. The Acadians of Chignecto, Mines, and their outlying settlements, found a market for their products at Boston and even at Louisbourg, which, after the loss of Acadia, became the great French stronghold of the Maritime provinces. In this way the Acadians became rich. They produced everything that was necessary to supply the wants of their families, and had a large surplus to sell, which they converted into specie and usually buried, as there were no banks in the country in which to deposit it. It is doubtful if there was anywhere at that time a peasantry in more comfortable circumstances or more affluent than the Acadians were from the time the English took possession of the country until their expulsion in 1755.

Another census of Acadia was taken in 1686, just fifteen years after the one already referred to. It then contained 855 inhabitants, of whom 592 resided at Port Royal. Two new settlements had in the meantime been founded, both of which were destined to become populous and wealthy, and to entirely overshadow the original colony at Port Royal. These were Beaubassin or Chignecto, the name then given to the territory about Sackville and Amherst, and Mines which included the region on the Basin of Minas, the place now described in the railway circulars as the Land of Evangeline. There were 95 families then residing at Port Royal, 27 more than in 1671; but the land they had under cultivation and their horned cattle had decreased. Their sheep had almost doubled, having risen from 407 to 627, and they possessed 351 swine, a species of live stock not mentioned in the census of 1671. Evidently considerable changes had taken place in their mode of living, due to causes which cannot very well be ascertained now. The settlement at Chignecto, although only a few years old, was flourishing. It had 127 inhabitants and more land under cultivation than Port Royal. Its cattle numbered 236, its sheep 111, and its swine 189. The Mines settlement had 57 inhabitants and

possessed 90 horned cattle, 21 sheep, and 67 swine. This was the humble beginning of a settlement where cattle a few years later were numbered by thousands. At Chignecto and Mines there were vast acres of marsh lands capable of supporting great herds, and the people who went to these new settlements speedily became rich. The progress of Chignecto was checked for a time by the expeditions from Massachusetts under Col. Church; but the prosperity of Mines encountered no such drawback, and it speedily became the most wealthy and populous settlement in Acadia.

The transfer of Acadia to Great Britain in 1710 did not at all affect the progress of the Acadian settlements. A census taken in 1714 shows that the population of Mines had risen to 878, a number almost as great as that of Port Royal, which had 895 inhabitants. The settlers of Mines were spreading themselves over the land and had established new colonies on many of the rivers flowing into the Basin of Minas, the Pizequid, the Gaspereaux, the Canards and other streams. The Port Royal colony was also more populous than it ever had been before; and, although a few families had left it, the bulk of the inhabitants continued to cling to the soil on which their fathers had lived so long. They were in the possession of some of the best soil in North America; they were in the enjoyment of peace, and they had therefore no inducement to seek their fortunes in another land which might not prove so congenial as that in which they were living. During the next forty years all the Acadian settlements grew rapidly, and in 1755, it is estimated that the Acadians numbered about 10,000 persons, a prodigious increase to take place in so short a period of time.

The Acadians were a people who lived very much by themselves, and therefore they acquired characteristics which were the outgrowth of their peculiar conditions. They were a very religious people, and were greatly under the influence of their clergy, whose power over them was felt in every relation of life. When this power was exercised in the interests of morality and religion it was a most wholesome influence and of the utmost benefit, but when it was used for political purposes it became a source of danger and led to the utter ruin of a people who might have remained always happy and prosperous.

Among the Acadians it was the custom to marry young, and as a consequence their families were usually large. Land was so abundant that a young man could not do better than take to himself a wife and

set up housekeeping on his own account. Their lives were simple and frugal and virtuous, but education was greatly neglected. Very few of the Acadians could read or write, and the literature of the world was a sealed book to them. This, however, was a condition not peculiar to the Acadians, but which also existed among the peasantry of France from which they sprang. In those days it was not thought necessary that a mere tiller of the soil should be able to read or write; indeed it was not until the present century that the great awakening took place as to the advantages of education which has placed that great blessing within reach of the humblest and made ignorance appear a badge of inferiority and disgrace.

THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE.

W. J. Robertson, M. A.

The importance of the War of 1812 is not yet fully realized by English historians, although there are strong indications that the British world is at last beginning to see dimly that the future of the British Empire is deeply involved in the growth and development of Canada. Had Canada been conquered in the War of 1812, the whole course of British history would have been changed, and that for the worse. Had the war not taken place when it did, it is possible that the process of americanizing Upper Canada, which was then going on, might have ended as similar processes in Texas and California ended at a later date. But the result of this war, which has usually been looked upon as a great evil, effectually checked the tendency of citizens of the United States to settle in Canada without any intention of becoming British subjects. On the outbreak of hostilities, those unwilling to take the oath of allegiance were forced to leave the country, and never since has American influence been an important factor in our political development.

Of the many battles fought during this bitter struggle, the Battle of Lundy's Lane was the most stubbornly and fiercely contested. So evenly were the antagonists matched that American historians have ever since claimed the battle as an American victory. Needless to say

every Canadian writer has described the results as favorable to British arms. It is possible some of your readers may desire to know the truth of these rival claims; therefore, to satisfy a laudable curiosity, the reports of the British and American commanders, immediately after the battle was fought, are here presented. For these reports, as well as for a mass of other interesting contemporary documents, I am indebted to a publication known as the "Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1814," of which Capt. Cruikshank, Fort Erie, is the learned editor. The italics are my own.

The first account of the battle here given is from a report of Sir Gordon Drummond, the British commander, to Sir George Prevost:

HEADQUARTERS, NIAGARA FALLS, 27th July, 1814.

Sir,—I embarked on board His Majesty's schooner "Netley," at York, on Sunday evening the 24th inst, and reached Niagara the following morning. Finding from Lieut.-Colonel Tucker that Major-General Riall was supposed to be moving towards the Falls of Niagara to support the advance of his division which he had pushed on to that place on the preceding evening, I ordered Lieut.-Colonel Morrison, with the 89th Regiment and a detachment of the Royals and King's, drawn from Forts George and Missassauga, to proceed to the same point, in order that with the united force I might act against the enemy (posted at Street's Creek, with his advance at Chippawa) on my arrival, if it should be found expedient. I ordered Lieut.-Colonel Tucker at the same time to proceed on the right bank of the river with three hundred of the 41st and about two hundred of the Royal Scots, and a body of Indian warriors, supported (on the river) by a party of armed seamen under Captain Dobbs, Royal Navy. The object of this movement was to disperse or capture a body of the enemy which was encamped at Lewiston. Some unavoidable delay having occurred in the march of the troops up the right bank, the enemy had moved off previous to Lieut.-Col. Tucker's arrival. . . . . Having refreshed the troops at Queenston, and having brought across the 41st Royals and Indians, I sent back the 41st and 100th regiments to form the garrisons of the Forts George, Missassauga and Niagara, under Lieut.-Col. Tucker, and moved with the 89th and detachments of the Royals and King's, and Light Company of the 41st, in all about 800 men, to join Major-General Riall's division at the Falls. When arrived within a few miles of that position I met a report from Major-Gen. Riall that the enemy was advancing in great force. I immediately pushed on and joined the head of Lieut.-Colonel Morrison's column just as it reached the road leading towards the Beaver Dam, over the summit of the hill at Lundy's Lane. Instead of the whole of Major-General Riall's division, which I expected to have found occupying this position,

I found it almost in the occupation of the enemy, whose columns were within 600 yards of the top of the hill, and the surrounding woods filled with his light troops. The advance of Major-General Riall's division, consisting of the Glengarry Light Infantry and Incorporated Militia, having commenced their retreat, I countermarched these corps and formed the 89th Regiment and Royal Scots detachments and 41st Light Company in the rear of the hill, their left resting on the great road; my two twenty-four-pounder brass field guns a little advanced in front of the centre on the summit of the hill; the Glengarry Light Infantry on the right; the Incorporated Militia and the detachment of the King's Regiment on the left of the great road; the squadron of the 19th Light Dragoons in rear of the left on the road. I had scarcely completed this formation when the whole front was warmly and closely engaged. The enemy's principal efforts were directed against our left and centre. After repeated attacks the troops on the left were partially forced back and the enemy gained a momentary possession of the road. This gave him, however, no material advantage, as the troops which had been forced back formed in the rear of the 89th Regiment, fronting the road, and securing the flank. It was during this short interval that Major-General Riall, having received a severe wound, was intercepted as he was passing to the rear, by a party of the enemy's cavalry, and made prisoner. In the centre the repeated and determined attacks of the enemy were met by the 89th Regiment, the detachments of the Royals and King's, and the Light Company of the 41st, with the most perfect steadiness and intrepid gallantry, and the enemy was constantly repulsed with very heavy loss. In so determined a manner were these attacks directed against our guns that our artillerymen were bayoneted by the enemy in the act of loading, and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of ours. The darkness of the night during this extraordinary conflict occasioned several uncommon incidents. *Our troops having for a moment been pushed back, some of our guns remained for a few minutes in the enemy's hands; they were, however, not only quickly recovered, but the two pieces, a six-pounder and a five-and-a-half-inch howitzer which the enemy had brought up, were captured by us, together with several tumbrils; and in limbering up our guns at one period one of the enemy's six-pounders was put up by a mistake upon a limber of ours, and one of our six-pounders limbered on his, by which means the pieces were exchanged, and thus, though we captured two of his guns, yet, as he obtained one of ours, we have gained only one gun.*

About nine o'clock (the action having commenced at six) there was a short intermission of firing, during which the enemy was employed in bringing up the whole of the remaining force, and he shortly afterwards renewed his attack, but was everywhere repulsed with equal gallantry and success. About this period, the remainder of Major-General Riall's division, which had been ordered to retire on the advance of the enemy, consisting of the 103rd Regiment, under

Col. Scott, the Headquarter division of the 8th (or King's) flank companies, 104th and some detachments of militia under Lieut-Colonel Hamilton, inspecting field officer, joined the troops engaged, and I placed them in a second line, with the exception of the Royal Scots and flank companies 104th, with which I prolonged my front line on the right, where I was apprehensive of the enemy's outflanking me. The enemy's efforts to carry the hill were continued until about midnight when he had suffered so severely from the superior steadiness and discipline of His Majesty's troops, that he *gave up the contest and retreated with great precipitation to the camp beyond the Chippawa. On the following day he abandoned his camp, threw the greatest part of his baggage, camp equipage, and provisions into the rapids, and having set fire to Street's Mills and destroyed the bridge at Chippawa, continued his retreat in great disorder towards Fort Erie.* My light troops, cavalry, and Indians, are detached in pursuit and to harass his retreat, which I doubt not he will continue until he reaches his own shore.

The loss sustained by the enemy in this severe action cannot be estimated at *less than fifteen hundred* men, including *several hundred prisoners* left in our hands. His two commanding generals, Brown and Scott, are said to be wounded; his whole force, which has never been rated at less than *five thousand*, having been engaged.

Enclosed, I have the honor to transmit a return of our loss, which has been very considerable. [Total, including officers, 84 killed, 559 wounded, 193 missing, 42 prisoners.] The number of troops under my command did not for the first three hours, exceed *sixteen hundred men;* the addition of the troops under Colonel Scott did not increase it to more than *two thousand eight hundred* of every description.

The foregoing statement of General Drummond is very clear and definite, and is in marked contrast to the hesitating and somewhat confused accounts given by General Brown (the American commander) to the United States Secretary of War which follows:

Major-General Brown to the Secretary of War:

BUFFALO, 7th August, 1814.

Sir,—Confined as I was and have been since the last engagement with the enemy, I fear that the account I am about to give may be less full and satisfactory than under other circumstances it might have been made. I particularly fear that the conduct of the gallant men it was my fortune to lead will not be noticed in a way due to their fame and the honor of our country.

You are already apprised that our army had, on the 25th ult., taken a position at Chippawa. About noon of that day Colonel Swift, who was posted at Lewiston, apprised me by express that the enemy had appeared in considerable

force in Queenston and on its heights; that four of the enemy's fleet had arrived during the preceding night and were then lying near Fort Niagara, and that a number of the enemy's boats were in view moving up the Straight. Within a few moments after this intelligence had been received, I was further informed by Captain Denman, of the Quarter Master's Department, that the enemy was landing at Lewiston, and that our baggage and stores at Schlosser and on their way thither were in danger of immediate capture. It is proper here to mention that having received advices as late as the 20th, from General Gaines, that our fleet was then in port and the Commodore sick, we ceased to look for co-operation from that quarter, and determined to disencumber ourselves of baggage and march directly for Burlington Heights. To mask this intention and to draw from Schlosser a small supply of provisions, I fell back upon Chippawa. As this arrangement, under the increased force of the enemy, left much at hazard on our side of the Niagara, and as it appeared by the before mentioned information that the enemy was about to avail himself of it, I conceived the most effectual method of recalling him from this object was to put myself in motion towards Queenston. General Scott, with the 1st Brigade, Towson's Artillery, and all the dragoons and mounted men, were accordingly put in march on the road leading thither, with orders to report if the enemy appeared — then to call for assistance if necessary.

On the General's arrival at the Falls, he learned that the enemy was in force directly in his front, narrow pieces of woods alone intercepting his view of them. Waiting only to give this information he advanced upon them; by the time Assistant-Adj. Jones had delivered his message the action began; and before the remaining part of the division had crossed the Chippawa, it had become close and general between the advanced corps. Though General Ripley with the second Brigade, Major Hindman with the corps of artillery, and General Porter at the head of his command, had respectively pressed forward with ardor, it was not less than an hour before they were brought to sustain General Scott, during which time his command most skilfully and gallantly maintained the conflict. Upon my arrival I found that the General had passed the wood and engaged the enemy on the Queenston road and on the ground to the left of it with the 9th, 11th, and 22nd Regiments, with Towson's Artillery— the 25th had been thrown to the right to be governed by circumstances. Apprehending that these corps were much exhausted, and knowing that they suffered severely, I determined to interpose a new line with the advancing troops, and thus disengage General Scott and hold his brigade in reserve; orders were accordingly given to General Ripley. The enemy's artillery at this moment occupied a hill which gave him great advantages and was the key to the whole position; it was supported by a line of infantry. To secure the victory it was necessary to carry this artillery and seize the height. This duty was assigned to Colonel Miller, while to favor its execution the 1st Regiment,

under the command of Colonel Nicholas, was directed to menace and amuse the infantry. To my great mortification this regiment, after a discharge or two, gave way and retreated some distance before it could be recalled, though it is believed the officers of the regiment exerted themselves to shorten this distance. In the meantime Colonel Miller, without regard to this occurrence, advanced steadily and gallantly to his object and carried the height and the cannon. General Ripley brought up the 23rd (which had also faltered) to his support, and the enemy disappeared from before them. The 1st Regiment was now brought into line on the left of the 21st and the detachments of the 17th and 19th, General Porter occupying with his command the extreme left, about the time Colonel Miller carried the enemy's cannon.

The 25th Regiment, under Major Jessup, was engaged in a more obstinate contest with all that remained to dispute with us the field of battle. The Major, as has been already stated, had been ordered by General Scott at the commencement of the action to take ground to the right; he had succeeded in turning the enemy's left flank—had captured (by a detachment under Captain Ketchum) General Riall and sundry other officers—and showed himself again in a blaze of fire, which defeated or destroyed a very superior force of the enemy. He was ordered to form on the right of 22nd Regiment. The enemy rallying his forces, and as is believed, having received reinforcements, now attempted to drive us from our position and regain his artillery; our line was unshaken and the enemy repulsed. Two other attempts having the same object had the same issue.

General Scott was again engaged in repelling the former of these, and the last I saw of him on the field of battle he was near the head of his column, and giving to its march a direction that would have placed him on the enemy's right. It was with great pleasure I saw the good order and intrepidity of General Porter's volunteers from the moment of arrival; but during the last charge of the enemy those qualities were conspicuous—stimulated by the example set them by their gallant leader, by Major Wood, of the Pennsylvania corps, by Colonel Dobbin, of New York, and by their officers generally—they precipitated themselves upon the enemy's line and made all the prisoners which were taken at this point of the action.

Having been for some time wounded, and being a good deal exhausted by loss of blood, it became my wish to devolve the command on General Scott and retire from the field, but on inquiry I had the misfortune to learn that he was disabled by wounds. I therefore kept my post, and had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy's last effort repulsed. I now consigned the command to General Ripley.

While retiring from the field I saw and felt that the victory was complete on our part if proper measures were promptly adopted to secure it. The exhaustion of the men was, however, such as made some refreshment necessary: they particu

larly required water—I was myself extremely sensible of the want of this necessary article. I therefore believed it proper that General Ripley and the troops should return to camp after bringing off the dead, the wounded and the artillery, and in this I saw no difficulty, as the enemy had entirely ceased to act.

Within an hour after my arrival in camp I was informed that General Ripley had returned without annoyance and in good order. I now sent for him, and after giving him my reasons for the measure I was about to adopt, ordered him to put the troops in the very best possible condition, to give to them the necessary refreshment, to take with him the picquets and camp guards and every other description of force; to put himself on the field of battle as the day dawned, and there to meet and beat the enemy if he appeared. To this order he made no objection and I relied upon its execution; *it was not executed.* I feel most sensibly how inadequate are my powers in speaking of the troops to do justice either to their merits or to my own sense of them—*under able direction they might have done more and better.*

The official report of the American losses was as follows: killed, 171; wounded, 570; missing, 117; total, 858. The estimate seems altogether too low, if we are to believe other and apparently reliable statements made by participants in the struggle.

That the Americans were not at all satisfied with the result of this engagement, is shown very clearly by the following extracts from a letter written by Major-General Peter B. Porter (commander of American Militia), to Governor D. D. Tompkins:

FORT ERIE, U. C., July 29, 1814.

Sir,—Our Canadian campaign seems drawing to a close, or must at any rate be suspended for want of reinforcements. After a month spent in marching and countermarching we have got back to the point from which we set out, much impaired in strength, but, I hope, not disheartened.

Besides almost daily skirmishing we have had two severe general engagements. . . . In the last (Lundy's Lane) we were most unlucky both as to time and place, the action having been commenced three miles from camp, about sundown, with one-third of our army against a greatly superior force occupying a commanding position. . . . . The enemy's battery of seven pieces of artillery was carried by a charge, his commanding position occupied, and four desperate and deliberate attempts to regain it by desperate charges successfully repelled. Our victory was complete, but alas, this victory gained by exhibitions of bravery never surpassed in this country, *was converted into a defeat by a precipitate retreat, leaving the dead, the wounded, and captured artillery, and our hard earned honor, to the enemy.* . . . . Do not understand me as intending to cast a heavy censure on General Ripley for *the retreat*

from Lundy's Lane. He is a very clever fellow, and besides having been in opinion opposed to General Brown's plan of operations, he on that night, I am told by him, *received a positive order from General Brown, at Chippawa, to retire.*

The above extracts give the reader a fair summary of the contemporary evidence relating to this famous struggle. To those anxious for fuller information I would recommend in addition to the work from which these extracts are taken, the most interesting and attractive volume by Mrs. Edgar, entitled "Ten Years of the War of 1812."

THE PENNFIELD COLONY.

By James Vroom.

"The Loyalists have made many new settlements in the Bay of Fundy; at Passamaquoddy is a settlement of Quakers."

So says a British officer, writing from Nova Scotia in the autumn of 1783. The Quaker Loyalists to whom he refers were then established at Beaver Harbor, and had given their little settlement the name of Penn's Field, since contracted to Pennfield.

From the beginning of their history in America, the members of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, had been victims of suspicion and persecution.[1] Pennsylvania was an asylum for many. In West New Jersey, however, where, in the early part of the last century they formed, in some districts, by far the most numerous and wealthy part of the population, they were less fortunate; and very much of the disaffection and disorder that prevailed in the Jerseys was due to the ill feeling aroused by the presence of Quakers in the governor's council and assembly.

The Quakers at that time were accused of being disloyal to the crown, because they refused to do military service and opposed the

[1] Imprisonment, whipping, branding, mutilation, banishment and death were the punishments inflicted, under Massachusetts' laws, upon the "cursed sect of heretics lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers;" and it was not until 1681 that the death penalty was abolished. Thus have the Pilgrim Fathers of Massachusetts

"Left *unstained* what there they found,—freedom to worship God!"

We whose names are hereunto Subscribed do agree to Settle ourselves together on the river St Johns in Novascotia —

No slave master admitted

Joshua Knight
John Rankin
John Loosbourrow
Saml. Fairlamb
Gid. Vernon
Amos Strickland
Evan Griffith
Joseph Tomlinson
John Strickland
Peter Price

Nathaniel Loosbourrow
Daniel Keyetter
Samuel Tomlinson
Peter Woltma
Abram Rankin
Samuel Hallwell
Joseph Thorne
Jeremiah Tibbs
Moses Winder
Thomas Buckley junr
Thomas Buckley
John Burk
Edward Burk
Andrew hamton

Benj. Brown
Richard Buffington
Jonathan Paul
John Dennis
Mathias Stiger
Richard Lawrence
Nimrod Woodward
Isaac Woodward
Jn. Hinchman

Rachel Done widow
Joseph Way
Daniel Southwick
Jon. Remington
Gershom Remington
Richard Mathews
Abraham Mood Ward
Amos White
Jesse Walton
Anthony Woodward
Anthony Woodward Junr
Abner Hamton
Wm. Ellis D.D.
Robert Woodward
Jacob Woodward
George Fielder

levying of taxes for war purposes. For the same reasons, two generations later, when disloyalty to the crown would have commended them to popular favor, they were accused of loyalty.

The Philadelphia Friends were suspected of being loyal before the British forces occupied the city; and the men were carried off to inland places and kept under watch until the close of the war, while the women and children were left exposed to insult and robbery. Joshua Knight, a man of some prominence, who lived in Abbington, a suburb of Philadelphia, with some of his fellow sufferers, either before or after the occupation, had sought protection from the British in New York. Apparently at his suggestion, a meeting of Friends was held there early in June, 1783, at which arrangements were made for going to Nova Scotia; and a month later the following advertisement appeared:

"Notice is hereby given to those of the people called Quakers who have entered into an agreement to settle together in Nova Scotia, that they are requested to meet at the house of Joshua Knight, No. 36 in Chatham Street, a little above the Tea-Water Pump, on Seventh Day next, the 5th of July, at four o'clock, afternoon, in order to conclude upon some matters of importance to them; and those who mean to join the above mentioned body are requested to call at No. 188 Water Street, between the Coffee-House Bridge and the Fly Market,[1] and have their names entered as soon as possible."

New York, July 2, 1783.

The reduced *fac simile* of the agreement here mentioned will be found specially interesting because of the words written large above the signatures, "No slave-master admitted." This, it must be remembered, was fifty years before the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies; and eighty years before President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation put an end to slavery in the United States.[2]

The Pennfield Quakers were ill prepared for the struggle before them. Their property had been confiscated by the Whig authorities; and the most hardy were unfitted for the rough experiences of pioneer life. After a few years of hardship and destitution, their village was swept away by a forest fire, and their colony was broken up, a few families only, including that of Joshua Knight, returning to begin again the settlement at Beaver Harbor.

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[1] A corruption of the Dutch name *Vallei Markt*, (Valley Market).

[2] As early as 1727, in Great Britain, the Friends had taken strong grounds against the slave trade; and in 1761, it was resolved to disown any member of the Society who should have any concern in the traffic.—*Gay Andras in the Canadian Magazine.*

HISTORY IN BOUNDARY LINES—ILLUSTRATED BY NEW BRUNSWICK.

By W. F. Ganong.

When I was a boy at school, I used to wonder why the boundary lines of New Brunswick run so strangely as they do, in such seemingly lawless courses. I have since found out that there is a reason for every feature of every line, that the peculiar province boundaries have had a long and devious history, and that the county lines are arranged upon an orderly and admirable system. I shall trace briefly the evolution of these lines for New Brunswick, though no doubt those of some of the other provinces are not inferior in interest.

The boundaries of New Brunswick are partly natural and partly artificial, and include the *International or Maine* boundary, the *Quebec* boundary and the *Nova Scotia* boundary. All three of these have been much in dispute, referred to commissions for decision, and settled finally by compromise. Most important in all respects, however, is the International boundary. But so long and complicated is its history that a mere outline of all of its vicissitudes would require many times the space the editor allows for this article, and a collection of the many books and reports that have been published about it would form a considerable library, despite which, however, its true and impartial history has not yet been written. But the actual forward steps in its evolution may be briefly traced.

In 1621 King James the First granted to Sir William Alexander a great territory, to be called Nova Scotia (including the present New Brunswick), whose western boundary was to be formed by the river St. Croix to its westernmost source, and thence by a north line to the St. Lawrence. This was the real origin of the present boundary, and the question arises, why was the St. Croix chosen? It was no doubt because the St. Croix was the only considerable river known by name (or otherwise) in that vicinity to King James and his advisers, and it was known to them only through its prominence on the maps and in the narratives of Champlain, whose ill-fated attempt with DeMonts to found a settlement there in 1604 was well-known to them.

The first boundary then of Nova Scotia followed the St. Croix and a north line from its westernmost source to the River St. Lawrence. So it remained for nearly one hundred and fifty years, and thus it is

marked on numerous English maps of the time, though in this interval the province passed twice into the possession of the French, who claimed for it, as the ancient Acadia, somewhat different limits. In 1763, however, all questions of boundary between England and France in Canada were set at rest forever when New France was ceded to England, as a result of the victories of Wolfe. In that year King George III established the Province of Quebec, and made its southern

boundary "the Highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea"; and in the same year, in the Commission to a Governor of Nova Scotia, the northern boundary of the latter province is defined as formed "by the southern boundary of our Province of Quebec," and its western boundary by the "River St. Croix, by the said River to its source, and by a line drawn due north from thence to the southern

boundary of our Colony of Quebec." If, now, one turns to the maps of that time, he finds that they all show the north line from the St. Croix crossing highlands separating rivers falling into the St. Lawrence, from those falling into the St. John and thence into the sea, *i. e.*, the Atlantic Ocean through the Bay of Fundy. In this the maps were wrong, for really these highlands separate St. Lawrence and Restigouche waters. From 1763 to 1783, all of the maps, practically without exception, show the southern boundary of Quebec following the highlands [X Y Z on the accompanying map], and also the western boundary of Nova Scotia running north to those highlands [the line S N on the map], while all east of it was Nova Scotia and all west was part of Massachusetts which then included Maine.

In 1776 began the revolution, which ended in 1783 with the Independence of the United States. Nova Scotia (then including New Brunswick) remained loyal to the King; Massachusetts (then including Maine) became one of the independent states, and naturally the line between them became the new International boundary. The treaty of 1783 describes the boundary thus: "From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz., that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix River, to the Highlands, along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean," and it is noticeable how closely the language used in this treaty is like that of the earlier boundaries assigned to Nova Scotia and Massachusetts. Apparently, then, the International line was unmistakeable; and it promised, as the treaty hopefully predicted, to prevent for the future all disputes about boundaries. But alas for human foresight! This boundary was for over half a century a subject of bitter contention, leading almost to war, and was only settled finally by the labors of successive commissions and a compromise satisfactory to neither party. First of all it was found not easy to settle which of the rivers emptying into Passamaquoddy Bay was the real St. Croix of the treaty, the Americans claiming that the Magaguadavic was meant. To settle this point a special commission was appointed, which in 1798 decided upon the present river called St. Croix, chiefly as a result of the examination of the maps and narratives of Champlain and the discovery of remains of his settlement on St. Croix Island. A question also arose as to which of the two nearly equal branches of the St. Croix was to be chosen, and this commission

decided upon the one coming from the north, and at its source they fixed the starting-point of the due north line (at S on our map), thus finally locating this important point. But two other important questions now arose, one as to the boundary line between some of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, and another as to the position of the highlands of the treaty, and hence as to the length of the due north line from the source of the St. Croix.

To settle these points another commission was appointed in 1816, which the next year rendered its decision upon the former point, drawing the line as it at present exists among the islands; but it was unable to come to a decision on the latter. On the one hand the Americans contended that the Treaty of 1783 intended to keep the old boundary between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts, and hence the north line should run north to the highlands south of the St Lawrence (to the point N on our map), while the British claimed that no such extension of the line was intended by the Treaty, since it would thrust Maine far into British America, cutting of communication between Nova Scotia and Quebec, and they claimed moreover that no such "North-west angle of Nova Scotia" as is described in the Treaty exists. They maintained that the north line should stop at Mars Hill south of the Aroostook (at the point G on our map) and run westward along the highlands south of that river. The claims of both nations were urged with great perseverance and immense legal subtlety, but neither could convince the other, and in 1829 the whole subject was referred for arbitration to the King of the Netherlands, who in 1831 decided for neither party, but "split the difference" between their claims by making the north line stop at the St. John and the boundary follow the St. John and the St. Francis to the source of the latter. This decision was rejected by the United States Senate, and negotiations and disputes continued until 1839 when local contests over lumber privileges in the Aroostook valley threatened to bring the two countries again to war. The situation had become intolerable to both countries and in 1842, Lord Ashburton was sent to Washington with instructions to settle the whole question, and he was met in a similar spirit by Webster on behalf of the United States. The result, known as the Ashburton Treaty, was the final establishment of the present line, which so far as New Brunswick is concerned, follows precisely that suggested by the King of the Netherlands, *i. e.*, the north line stops at the St. John which becomes the boundary to the St. Francis, which

latter river continues it. But neither Maine nor New Brunswick has ever been satisfied with this settlement, each claiming that it had been defrauded for the sake of the other, both forgetting that in so complicated and vexed a matter, a compromise or "splitting of the difference" is the only safe course. Truly, then, the western boundary of New Brunswick has had a devious history.

We shall next consider briefly the curious boundary between New Brunswick and Quebec. Starting where the St. Francis river leaves its lowermost lake, it runs (as shown by the accompanying map) first a little north of east, then a little more northerly, then about northeast, then north, then east, north again, east again to the Patapedia River, which it follows to the Restigouche and thence to the Bay Chaleur. But what is the meaning of these curious lines running so regardlessly of the natural features of the country? Before 1783 the boundary between these provinces was considered to be, as shown on all the maps of the time, the watershed separating rivers flowing into the St. Lawrence from those flowing southward. In 1784 New Brunswick was separated from Nova Scotia as a distinct province, and some attempts were made to settle the boundary between it and Quebec. Despite considerable discussion, no progress was made until after the settlement of the International boundary in 1842, but soon after that year the subject was seriously taken up. It was found, however, that the views of the authorities of the two provinces were hopelessly discordant, for while New Brunswick claimed everything south of the St. Lawrence watershed, Quebec claimed as far south as a line starting as Mars Hill (at G on our map) and running south and east of the Tobique and Upsalquitch rivers to the mouth of the Restigouche. Plainly no agreement could be reached between the provinces themselves, and in 1846, at the suggestion of the Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, a commission was appointed to investigate the claims of the provinces and to recommend a line. After a thorough examination of the question, and a consideration of numerous proposed lines, the Commission recommended a compromise line intended to split the difference between the two claims. This line was to be a continuation of the International line between Maine and Quebec, until it intersected the parallel of forty-seven degrees, fifty minutes, which it was to follow to the Kedgwick river, and thence by the Kedgwick and Restigouche to the Bay Chaleur. This line is shown in part by the line of small x's on our

map. But this decision pleased neither province, least of all Quebec, and in 1851 the matter was referred to still another Commission whose third member was Dr. Stephen Lushington of London. Dr. Lushington took the line of the previous Commission as a basis, and finding that Quebec was particularly aggrieved because the old Seigniories of Temiscouata and Madawaska, which it anciently possessed, had been awarded to New Brunswick, he restored them to Quebec, giving new Brunswick as compensation the land between the Kedgewick and the Miscouche or Patapedia. Thus was the first part of the line fixed, *i. e.*, the part twelve miles long which crosses the Madawaska at right angles, this being the precise southern boundary of the old Seigniory. Then to give the upper St. John to New Brunswick (though Quebec had claimed all west of the continued north line) a line was run approximately parallel with the river, running to one mile south of Long lake (to give this lake to Quebec) and thence to the outlet of the lower lake on the St. Francis. From the eastern end of the Seigniorial line, the boundary was to run north and follow tangent lines of the watersheds separating waters of the Rimouski, Green River, and Restigouche (thus originating the curious angles at Y on our map) thence along the 48th parallel to the Miscouche River, thence to the Restigouche and to Bay Chaleur. After some further discussion, this line proposed by Lushington was adopted, and is practically the line as it runs to-day. It was later found that the Miscouche and Patapedia had been confused on the maps, and the latter was adopted; in 1855, the boundary was surveyed and thus closed another complicated chapter in the history of our boundaries.

The Nova Scotia boundary has a briefer history, but in proportion to its length can show almost as much contention as the others. The Misseguash river had been considered by the French as the boundary between the Acadia they ceded to the British in 1713 and the mainland which they considered part of New France. When New Brunswick was separated from Nova Scotia in 1784 the Misseguash was adopted as the boundary, which was to be followed to its source and thence run in a straight line to the nearest part of Baie Verte (later altered to a due east line from its source). Nova Scotia was never satisfied with this boundary, and in 1793 made an attempt to have it altered to the head of the Memramcook and thence to Shediac, in order to include all of the old Cumberland settlements in that province, but this attempt failed. The Misseguash in its upper course

however becomes very difficult to trace, as it is lost in a maze of lakes and marshes, nor was it easy to determine from what point the line from its head was to run. Accordingly, in 1836 a commission was appointed which later agreed upon the present compromise line, which follows the Misseguash to Black Island whence a surveyed line runs to the head of the Misseguash, whence a due east line runs to the Tidnish River.

Very different has been the history of our county lines, though proposals have more than once been made to change even these. When one looks first at the map of New Brunswick, the counties seem to have no relation to any natural features of the country. But a closer inspection shows that they do follow a definite system, namely, the natural grouping of the rivers. Thus Charlotte includes the basins of the several rivers falling into Passamaquoddy Bay. A row of eight counties follows the St. John, with their intermediate lines usually crossing that river at right angles, whence it comes to pass that the great curve of the St. John in its lower course makes five of these counties radiate from Charlotte. Westmorland and Albert include the Petitcodiac system; Kent includes the several small rivers, of which the Richibucto is the chief; Northumberland covers the Miramichi basin, Gloucester the Nepisiguit and smaller streams of the northeast corner, while Restigouche includes the river of the same name with its chief branches.

Thus our chief county lines (excepting the cross lines along the St. John, and the Petitcodiac) were obviously intended to follow the watersheds, and that they do not do so more closely is due to three causes: first, for convenience sake the lines are best made straight, and hence they cannot follow exactly the crooked watersheds; second, in some cases (as the Miramichi) some of our rivers head so far across the province towards the valleys of others that it is more convenient to include their sources in other counties; third, in many cases the geography of the province was very imperfectly known when the lines were established by law, so that when they came to be actually surveyed they often ran very differently from what was expected, and in some cases they were later changed. Allowing for these causes of confusion, we must admit that our counties, as a whole, do follow admirably the natural river systems of the province. Why, now, was this system adopted? Why were the boundaries made to run along the watersheds, where they are

difficult to find, instead of along the rivers themselves, where they would be obvious? The answer will be plain to all who recall the conditions of travel and settlement in the early days of the province. Until well into this century there were no good roads, and of course no railroads, and nearly all travel was by water, while the settlements themselves were grouped about the navigable waters of rivers and harbors. In establishing counties, therefore, it was natural to group the settlements of a natural river system or basin together into one county, and to place the county-town as nearly as possible in their centre where it could easily be reached by water. This, of course, necessitated running the boundaries along the watersheds. If, on the other hand, the rivers had been adopted as boundaries, it would have been necessary for many of the citizens of any county to cross an uninhabited and pathless watershed to reach their county town, even though the county town of another county were just across the river from their homes.

The history of the county lines of New Brunswick shows clearly enough that these were the principles in the minds of Governor Carleton and his council when they first laid out the province into counties in 1785, and for his foresight in this, as well as for many other wise acts, Governor Carleton deserves our thanks and admiration. As laid out in 1785 the province included eight counties, Charlotte (the only one now retaining its original limits), St. John, Kings, Queens, Sunbury, York, Westmorland and Northumberland. The original limits of St. John are shown on our map, as is the original position of the line separating the four other river counties from the two North Shore counties (*i. e.*, M P on the map). This line was soon altered in part to the position OR, and still later to its present position. The other counties were set off later, from time to time; and we could have no better tribute to the wisdom of Governor Carleton in establishing the original eight counties as he did than the fact that his successors established the seven additional counties upon precisely the same principles.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHY OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

By W. J. Wilson, Ph.B., of the Geological Survey of Canada.

The rock formations of a country have a great influence in determining the character of its physical features. A brief description of the underlying rocks of New Brunswick will, therefore, be necessary before we can get a clear idea of its mountains, lakes and rivers.

Beginning at the south we find an irregular belt about thirty miles wide along the coast of the Bay of Fundy, composed of granite and crystalline rocks, which are much disturbed and thrown up into ridges. North of this belt lies a large triangular area of sandstone, comprising a large part of Sunbury, Queens, Westmorland, Albert, Northumberland and Gloucester counties, and all of Kent county. The western limit of this area is in York county, west of Oromocto lake, from which the southern boundary extends to near the mouth of the Petitcodiac river, and the northern boundary to Bathurst. These sandstones, for the most part, lie flat as at first deposited. Northwest of this sandstone area the rocks are principally slates and limestone with large masses of granite appearing in different places. These rocks are much changed and hardened, and instead of lying flat are thrown up at various angles, forming high ridges and lofty isolated peaks.

The sandstones, occupying the middle and eastern part of the province, were the last laid down, and with the exception of two or three small areas, as at St. Martins and on the Island of Grand Manan, are the newest rocks in New Brunswick. These sandstones, slates, etc., are sedimentary rocks, that is they were spread out layer upon layer on the shores and bottoms of ponds, lakes and oceans in the form of clay, sand and gravel, carried down by streams and rivers, and, after the lapse of long ages, they were hardened and became solid rock. Geologists divide the rocks thus formed into periods, giving each a name. The sandstone referred to above belongs to what is called the Carboniferous Period, because large deposits of coal are found in it. They have also estimated the relative time in which the rocks of each period were formed, and they give almost one-half of the whole time to the formations that are later than the carboniferous.

Now, as there is only a very small portion of New Brunswick occupied by rocks newer than the carboniferous, it is altogether

probable that this province was above the level of the sea through the millions of years during which the later formations were formed in other places, and was exposed to the action of the atmosphere, water, heat and cold and all other forces which wear down the earth's surface and tend to reduce it to a plane. As a result of this long exposure there are no very high mountains, and the rivers have worn out deep valleys for themselves, many of them through the hardest rock.

The most marked feature of the southern highlands is a somewhat regular ridge, almost continuous, extending from Maine to the St. John river in Queens county, and eastward through Kings county, ending in Butternut Ridge. This ridge rises eight or nine hundred feet above the surrounding country and includes some high peaks, as Bald mountain (1150–1400 feet high), Prospect mountain and Eagle Rock, near the Nerepis river; Mount Pleasant, Porcupine and Red Rock mountains further west in Charlotte county, and Ben Lomond and Bloomsbury mountain east of the St. John river. The general direction of this ridge is parallel to the coast and it is cut through in many places by rivers flowing into the Bay of Fundy, sometimes through valleys not more than 300 feet above sea-level.

East of the St. John river there are altogether five parallel ridges running in an easterly direction, rising to an average height of 1000 feet with river valleys between. The highest of these ridges skirts the Bay of Fundy and contains Bloomsbury mountain and the Quaco hills. It separates into two or more ridges ending in Albert county in Caledonia mountain and Shepody mountain (1050 feet high).

The triangular area of sandstone presents a comparatively level surface and nowhere rises above 800 feet, the general level especially in the eastern part being below 300 feet.

The northern highlands contain the highest land in the province. West of the St. John river, in York and Carleton counties, the land rises in several peaks and ridges to a height of 800 or 900 feet, notably Oak mountain, Carrol Ridge, Sheogomoc Ridge and Dorrington Hill, while the general level is about 500 feet.

East of the St. John river the land rises to the watershed dividing the Tobique and other tributaries of the St. John from eastward flowing rivers where the highest land in the province is situated. Mountains and broken ranges cross this tract in all directions and reach the St. John valley in the vicinity of Mars Hill (1688 feet high). Northward on this slope the highest summits are Belleville and Green

mountain and the general level is 800 to 1000 feet. From the height of land to the shores of the Gulf there is much variety. About the head waters of the Tobique, Miramichi, Nipisiquit and Upsalquitch rivers there is a rugged and broken country with an average elevation above sea level of 1,000 to 1,500 feet, many peaks rising much higher. Northward the general level varies from 800 to 1,200 feet, and eastward there is a gradual slope from a height of 400 to 600 feet to the shores of the Gulf. For a description of the mountains east of the watershed the following is quoted from Mr. R. Chalmers' Report on this district.[1]

"Bald (Sagamook) mountain, at Nictor lake, is 2,537 feet above sea level. . . . . Numerous other mountains are to be seen in the vicinity of these lakes and along the upper reaches of the Nipisiquit river, their bare red summits often rising 2,000 feet high. One of these, about three miles above Indian Falls, or fifty miles from the mouth of the Nipisiquit (also called Bald mountain), was found to be 1,922 feet above the level of the Bay Chaleur. From its summit, the Miramichi river and valley, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence were distinctly visible. On the portage, from Nipisiquit river to Upsalquitch lake, several remarkable mountains were noticed, among them a symmetrical, dome-shaped one, immediately southwest of the lake, stands up conspicuously in the valley, affording a splendid outlook from its summit. Its elevation, according to Hind, is 2,186 feet. Upsalquitch lake is surrounded by peaks, no fewer than ten being visible from its surface. Along the Tobique river, several ranges and isolated mountains also of great beauty were observed. Bald Head, on Riley brook, is one of the most striking; its elevation, according to Hind, being 2,240 feet above the sea. The Blue mountains form the most prominent feature of the Tobique valley, their highest peak being 1,724 feet above sea level and 1250 feet above the river at their base. The loftiest mountains in this elevated tract, however, occur, according to Mr. R. W. Ells and other explorers, on the big south branch of the Nipisiquit, that is between Nictor and Nipisiquit lakes on the north, and the right hand branch of the Tobique on the south, where some peaks attain a height of 2,600 to 2,700 feet above sea level."

Slate mountain and Squaw mountain, near the mouth of the Upsalquitch river, are about 2,000 feet, and Sugar Loaf at Campbellton, 950 feet above sea level.

The principal watershed of the province does not follow either of the high tracts mentioned, but extends from the Isthmus of Chignecto in the southeast to the western part of Restigouche county. This

[1] Preliminary Report on the Surface Geology of New Brunswick, 1855, pp. 11, 12.

watershed is a very irregular line. From the Isthmus of Chignecto it runs northwesterly, almost to the northern boundary of Kent county, separating the headwaters of the Kennebecasis, Canaan and Salmon rivers from those flowing into Northumberland strait. From this point it runs southwesterly, separating Salmon and Cains rivers. Then northwesterly in a zig-zag course dividing the waters of the Miramichi river from those flowing into the St. John river. This course continues into Carleton County where it is only about nine miles from the St. John river. The watershed then runs northeasterly between the Miramichi and Tobique waters into Northumberland County. It then curves round again to the southwest into Victoria and Madawaska counties where it is again only ten miles distant from the St. John river, which at this point is the western boundary of the province. The height of land then runs northwesterly into Quebec. This watershed or height of land is by no means a prominent and distinct ridge through all its course, for in the southern half it is not easily distinguishable. The small streams forming the head-waters of many of the rivers interlock, and it is impossible in passing over the country to determine to which slope they belong without following them for some distance. This is true in a large degree of all watersheds except in mountainous regions. Another watershed of some importance runs through Charlotte and York counties and separates the rivers emptying into the Bay of Fundy from those flowing into the St. John. Its direction is northwest and southeast.

New Brunswick abounds in lakes, many of which are the sources of rivers and are so far from the common routes of travel that they are seldom visited except by the hunter and sportsman, while on the fertile shores of others are cultivated farms. . . . . Grand Lake is by far the largest in the province. Its length is about twenty-four miles, and for the greater part it varies in width from three to six miles and covers an area of sixty-eight square miles. . . . . Near the height of land separating the Tobique waters from those of the Miramichi and Nipisiquit, the highest lakes in the province are situated. The height given is above sea level. Gulquac, Tobique or Trousers, 1,360 feet; Long lake, 1370 feet; Serpentine, 1,450 feet. Then, twenty miles north, Nipisiquit, 996 feet; and Nictor, 878 feet.

The Saint John is the largest and most important river. It has a length of nearly 450 miles and drains an area in the province of 10,-

500 square miles. . . . . For twelve miles above the Grand Falls the St. John river is deep, ranging from fifteen to thirty feet. The Grand Falls, like many of the lakes of the province, owes its origin to the Glacial period. The channel, in which the river formerly flowed, was filled with boulder clay, and so a natural dam was formed backing up the water for a long distance. The water then ran over the lowest point of its obstruction which happened to be the rocky cliffs. The solid rock has been worn away for three-quarters of a mile to a depth of 150 feet or more, forming what is known as the Gorge, through which the waters rush with tremendous force, the whole forming a scene which rivals the fall itself. Below Grand Falls the river valley is deep, the sloping banks rising to a height of 400 feet in places. Along these slopes are numerous gravel terraces rising one above another, forming a very noticeable feature of this part of the valley. . . . The river in its lower part forms a lake-like expansion, including the Long Reach, Grand Bay, etc. About four miles from its mouth it flows through the Narrows, where it has worn out a deep channel for itself. Opposite Indiantown it again opens out into a broad basin nearly a mile wide, but before it reaches the Bay its waters are forced through a gorge about 200 feet wide; a ledge of rock extends across this gorge, forming a dam, preventing the free passage of the water so that at low tide there is a fall outward and at high tide a fall inward, when the water rushes up with great force and a very swift current. On account of this obstruction, when it is high tide in St. John harbor, below the "Falls," the water at Indiantown, above the "Falls," is at least ten feet lower, and the tide continues to pour in for an hour or more after it is high water outside. It continues to flow upward till the tide has fallen nearly ten feet, the waters thus reaching a common level when the surface of the fall is calm and may be navigated with safety.[1]

Another physical feature may be referred to. Along the east coast bordering the carboniferous sandstones, in many places, there are large banks or ridges of wind-blown sand; at some points these

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[1] This "common level" occurs twice in every tide, about two hours before and two hours after high water, except in times of high spring freshets when high water in the harbor just reaches the level of the water in the river. For further description of the "Falls" see Nicholas Denys' "Description of the River St. John," edited by W. F. Ganong, No. 3 of this series.—EDITOR.

ridges reach a height of ten or fifteen feet and cover quite a large area, obstructing agricultural operations.

What are locally known as "horsebacks" form another prominent feature in many places. These are gravel ridges usually 300 or 400 feet wide at the base and rising from five or ten feet to seventy feet above the level of the country over which they pass. At the top they form a sharp ridge. They usually contain boulders and the gravel is water-worn, mixed with sand and more or less stratified. These ridges often extend for a distance of two or three miles and sometimes to a much greater distance; in other cases they are only a few hundred feet in length. They are frequently used as a roadway and serve this purpose admirably. One of the highest and longest in New Brunswick is found in York county, west of Eel river. It forms a tongue of land in the first Eel river lake and runs northward continuously for about eight miles where it turns off into the state of Maine. Another, a few miles east, is four or five miles long, and forms a good roadway as does the one from Eel lake. A third gravel ridge occurs along the south shore of Bay Chaleur, between Charlo river and Nash's creek, a distance of about fourteen miles.[1]

[1] I am indebted to the Reports of the Geological Survey for many of the facts here stated.

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THE EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS.

By James Hannay, D.C.L.

Longfellow's poem of "Evangeline" has rendered the expulsion of the Acadians more familiar to the world than any other fact in the history of the country. The story told in this poem, although a fiction, is such as might have happened as a result of the Acadian deportation, and represents perhaps accurately enough the hardships and bereavements suffered by the unfortunate people who were thus driven from their homes.

The subject cannot be otherwise than a painful one to people endowed with the proper feelings of humanity; and it must ever be a source of regret to the people of another race who now inhabit this land, that it was thought necessary to carry out so severe a measure as the expulsion of the Acadians one hundred and fifty-four years ago. At the same time, it ought to be remembered that the expulsion of the Acadians, whether justifiable or otherwise, was a war measure, and that it should be judged by the standards of morality which prevail when rival nations are engaged in war and their subjects are striving to slay each other. Not many months ago, we had a very pointed illustration of the code of morality which regulates the operations of war, when the entire population of Santiago, a city of 30,000 inhabitants, were forced to leave it at a few hours' notice, to enable the Americans to bombard it. Three times as many people suffered from this act of war as from the expulsion of the Acadians; yet it was regarded by those who sanctioned it and by the world, quite as a matter of course; and no doubt many who have wept over the fate of the Acadians looked upon the bombardment of Santiago as a very proper act. The lesson of all this is, that as long as wars prevail on earth acts of cruelty and injustice will be committed, and that all good men and women should lend their influence to bring wars to an end.

The immediate cause of the expulsion of the Acadians was their refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown. When Port Royal was captured by the English in 1710, by the terms of the capitulation it was agreed that "the inhabitants within cannon shot of Port Royal shall remain upon their estates, with their corn, cattle, and furniture, during two years, in case they are not desirous to go before, they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to Her Sacred

Majesty of Great Britain." This distance, "within cannon shot of Port Royal," was interpreted to mean within three English miles; and it was ascertained that the number of persons residing in this area was 481. By the Treaty of Utrecht, which was made in 1713, France ceded all Acadia to Great Britain, and by the fourteenth article of that treaty it was agreed that "the subjects of the King of France may have liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, with all their moveable effects. But those who are willing to remain and to be subject to the King of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, according to the usages of the Church of Rome, so far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same." On the 23rd June, 1713, nearly three months after the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, Queen Anne wrote to Nicholson, the Governor of Nova Scotia, as follows:

"Whereas, our good brother, the most Christian king, hath, at our desire, released from imprisonment on board his galleys such of his subjects as were detained there on account of their professing the Protestant religion: We, being willing to show some mark of favor towards his subjects, and how kind we take his complaisance therein, have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you permit such of them as have any lands or tenements in the places under your government in Acadia and Newfoundland, that have been or are to be yielded to us by virtue of the late Treaty of Peace, and are willing to continue our subjects, to retain and enjoy their said lands and tenements without any molestation, as fully and freely as other of our subjects do or may possess their lands or estates, or to sell the same if they shall rather choose to remove elsewhere."

These documents show the terms upon which the Acadians were to be permitted to remain in the country, one of the conditions being that they should become British subjects. This they could only do by taking an unconditional oath of allegiance to the crown and becoming, like other subjects, liable to military service for the defence of their country against all its enemies, whether of their own race or strangers. The Acadians refused to take the oath of allegiance; and while they preferred their willingness to do no injury to British interests, claimed to be neutral, and as such exempt from all those services to which other subjects were liable. It would be tedious even to enumerate the many attempts that were made by the Governors and administrators of Nova Scotia to induce the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance. All were unsuccessful until the return of

Governor Phillips to the province in 1730. Then all the French inhabitants of Acadia took the oath of allegiance without any qualification as to not bearing arms. The Acadians afterwards declared that when they did this it was with the understanding that a clause was to be inserted exempting them from bearing arms. If that was the case, it only goes to show that twenty years after Acadia had became a British province, the French inhabitants still refused to regard themselves as British subjects.

When Cornwallis became Governor of Nova Scotia and founded Halifax in 1749, one of his first acts was to request the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance. This they all refused to do; but they offered to take the oath of 1730 with an exemption against bearing arms. They added that if the governor would not grant them this, they were resolved, one and all, to leave the country. The final demand upon the Acadians was made by Governor Lawrence in the summer of 1755. Deputies from all the French settlements were brought to Halifax and informed that all the Acadians must either take an unconditional oath of allegiance or leave the country. They all positively refused to take the oath, and Governor Lawrence and his council at once took measures to expel them. Transports were hired in New England for the purpose of conveying the exiles to the places where it was intended they should be placed, and troops were collected at the various settlements for the purpose of carrying out this most difficult and revolting duty.

Beausejour, the French fort on the Isthmus of Chignecto, had been captured a few weeks before, and Lieut.-Col. Winslow with a detachment of New England troops was sent to Mines with instructions to gather the Acadians of that settlement and place them on board the vessels in which they were to be deported. It is from Winslow's diary, which has been published in full by the Nova Scotia Historical Society, that we can best gather the particulars of the sad story of the expulsion. All the male inhabitants of Mines, over ten years of age, were commanded to meet in the church at Grand Pre on the 5th September, and they obeyed this summons to the number of upwards of 400. Winslow informed them that in consequence of their disobedience, their lands and tenements, cattle, live stock, and all their other effects were forfeited to the crown, and that they themselves were to be removed from the province. He told them, however, that he would take in the vessels with them as large a portion of their

household effects as could be carried, and that families would not be separated, but conveyed in the same vessel. Finally, he informed them that they were to remain prisoners at the church until the time came for them to embark. At Piziquid, Capt. Murray collected the male inhabitants to the number of nearly 200, in the same way and kept them in confinement. Considering the situation in which they were placed, they manifested but little emotion, and offered no resistance worthy of the name. The task of getting so many families together and embarking them with their household effects proved tedious, but it was finally accomplished, and about 3,400 of the inhabitants of Mines and Piziquid were thus carried into exile. At Annapolis, 1,664 French inhabitants were embarked, and at Chignecto about 1,100. Altogether the number of Acadians removed from the province at that time was between 6,000 and 7,000. They were sent to the British Colonies to the south—Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and Massachusetts. A few were sent to England and some to the West Indies. North and South Carolina and Georgia also received some of these unfortunate exiles. They became a public charge in the colonies to which they were sent and were encouraged by the authorities of these colonies to go elsewhere. Many of them hired vessels and got back to Acadia, and in one way and another it is supposed that at least two-thirds of those who were deported succeeded in returning. Many of them had suffered great hardships, many had died, families had been scattered, and they were all impoverished—they who had been so wealthy and prosperous before their exile. Yet all these woes and troubles are now matters of the past; and to-day there are upwards of 100,000 persons of French origin in the Maritime Provinces, most of them descendants of the Acadian exiles of 1755.

FRONTENAC AND HIS TIMES.

By G. U. Hay, Ph.B.

Of all the able and brilliant leaders that France gave to the New World, there was none more remarkable than Count Frontenac. The first part of his career in Canada may be passed over here, as there is little to attract our interest in the constant quarrels and bickerings that occurred between him and the civil and religious authorities at Quebec. His strong will and imperious character could not brook

interference; but the strength of Bishop Laval and the Jesuit clergy, supported by the intendant Talon, was a force with which even the selfwill and courage of a Frontenac could not successfully cope. His recall, therefore, after ten turbulent and factious years of rule, was only a natural result. But his strong individuality, his marvellous courage and activity, his influence over the Indians and the scarcely less savage *coureurs de bois*, had left their impress on the country; and when seven years of misrule under two succeeding governors had brought Canada to the verge of ruin, it was felt that the sagacity and boldness of Frontenac could alone save it for France. The mishaps and troubles of this distant colony, torn by internal dissensions, and harassed from without by English and Indians, was the only thorn in the side of Louis XIV, whose dream had been to build up a new empire in the west. He turned to Frontenac as the only one who could bring glory to France and restore its all but ruined colony.[1]

Frontenac, now in his seventieth year, readily undertook the task. Neither his age nor enforced idleness at a brilliant court had dimmed his courage or relaxed his ambition. William Prince of Orange was now on the throne of England, and all the resources of the French king were required at home; so that Frontenac could not hope for much assistance from that quarter. But he trusted in himself and in his own genius to restore hope and courage to Canada. He had been told by the king to forget past animosities, but the necessities of the hour on his arrival at Quebec left no time for quarrels.[2] It was just after the massacre at La Chine by the Iroquois, and the whole country was paralyzed with fear. The first step of Frontenac was to restore some measure of order and confidence. He next called a council of the Iroquois, whom folly and the lack of sincerity on the part of Denonville, his predecessor, had turned from friends, or at least neutrals, into relentless enemies. The first message of Frontenac to them is characteristic of the man:

"The great Onontio, whom you all know, has come back again. He does not blame you for what you have done; for he looks upon you as foolish children, and blames only the English, who are the cause of your folly, and have made you forget your obedience to a father who has always loved and never deceived you."[3]

But the task of appeasing the Iroquois was difficult, and one that taxed his resources to the utmost. These wily savages, skilled in

[1] Parkman: *Return of Frontenac.* [2] Parkman: *Ibid.* [3] Parkman: *Ibid.*

diplomacy as well as woodcraft, felt that their existence depended on successfully playing off the English against the French. They were the friends of either as long as their own interests demanded it. Their nearness to the English settlements of New York and Albany brought them more under the influence of the English, who eagerly sought their friendship for purposes of trade, or for an alliance against the French; and the latter just as eagerly wished for their friendship against their English foes. Denonville's lack of knowledge of Indian character, and his treachery, had brought calamity on the French settlements about Montreal, and had threatened to estrange the Hurons and other Indian allies of the French in the West. Frontenac had not come a moment too soon. His first design had been to fall upon the English settlements in New York; but that had been frustrated for want of ships and a sufficient force of men. He now devoted himself to winning back the Iroquois — no easy task since their appetite for French blood had been whetted—and when he had at least secured their neutrality, to strike a blow against the English. His presence soon had a wonderful influence upon the French. His energy and hardihood overcame all obstacles, and inspired confidence among the *coureurs de bois* and friendly Indians. He determined to attack the English to the south; and for that purpose three war parties were fitted out, one to strike Albany (which reached Schenectady instead), the second directed against the border settlements of New Hampshire, and the third against those of Maine. All were successful. The barbarous massacres of men, women and children in these doomed settlements by the French and their Indian allies, will always remain a stain on the character of Frontenac. Cruelty and bloodshed were characteristic of the border warfare of those days; but it is creditable that no retaliation in kind was attempted by the New York and New England settlements for the repeated butcheries of unoffending and defenceless settlers.[1]

The triumphant success of his three war parties, and the failure of Sir Wm. Phips to capture Quebec in the autumn of the following year, restored confidence to the French and brought nearer to a reality the dream of a French Empire in North America. The failure of the English settlements to retaliate with effect was due to their desire to remain at peace, to their scattered condition, and to the want of unanimity and of capable leaders among them. The French were united,

[1] Parkman.

trained to savage warfare, and confident under such a leader as Frontenac. The chief object of the war parties against New York and New England had been to teach the Iroquois that they could not trust the English as allies. But the lesson was lost on these savages. In the spring and summer of 1690 and the two following seasons they continued their depredations, and kept the French settlers on the Upper Saint Lawrence in constant terror. In the spring of 1691, a combined force of English, Dutch and Iroquois, under Major Peter Schuyler, numbering two hundred and sixty-six men, left Albany and moved toward Montreal. A French force of between seven and eight hundred men crossed the St. Lawrence to meet them and encamped at La Prairie. Here a night attack by the English was completely successful, and Schuyler slowly retreated towards Chambly, on the Richelieu, where their canoes had been left. The sequel told by Parkman[1] is of great interest:

"A day or two before Valrenne, an officer of birth and ability, had been sent to Chambly, with about a hundred and sixty troops and Canadians, a body of Huron and Iroquois converts, and a band of Algonquins from the Ottawa. His orders were to let the English pass, and then place himself in their rear to cut them off from their canoes. His scouts had discovered their advance; and, on the morning of the attack, he set his force in motion, and advanced six or seven miles towards La Prairie, on the path by which Schuyler was retreating. The country was buried in forests. At about nine o'clock, the scouts of the hostile parties met with each other, and their war-whoops gave the alarm. Valrenne instantly took possession of a ridge of ground that crossed the way of the opposing English. Two large trees had fallen along the crest of the acclivity; and behind these the French crouched, in triple row, well hidden by bushes and thick standing trunks. The English, underrating the strength of their enemy, and ignorant of his exact position, charged impetuously, and were sent reeling back by a close and deadly volley. They repeated the attack with still greater fury, and dislodged the French from their ambuscade. Then ensued a fight which Frontenac declares to have been the most hot and stubborn ever known in Canada. The object of Schuyler was to break through the French and reach the canoes; the object of Valrenne was to drive him back upon the superior force at La Prairie. The cautious tactics of the bush were forgotten. Three times the combatants became mingled together, firing breast to breast, and scorching each other's shirts by the flash of their guns. * * * At length the French were driven from the path. 'We broke through the middle of their body,' says Schuyler, 'until we got into their rear, trampling upon their dead; then faced about upon them, and fought them

[1] Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.

until we made them give way; then drove them, by strength of arm, four hundred paces before us; and, to say the truth, we were all glad to see them retreat.' He and his followers continued their march unmolested, carrying their wounded men, and leaving about forty dead behind them, along with one of their flags, and all their knapsacks, which they had thrown off when the fray began. They reached the banks of the Richelieu, found their canoes safe, and after waiting several hours for stragglers, embarked for Albany.

"Nothing saved them from destruction but the failure of the French at La Prairie to follow their retreat, and thus enclose them between two fires."

Frontenac determined by one last great effort to crush the Iroquois. To accomplish that object, he rebuilt Fort Frontenac, against the express orders of the king. Then assembling the whole available force of the colony, amounting to 2200 men, he penetrated into the country south of Lake Ontario, only to find it deserted and the enemy hidden in the impenetrable forests beyond. The task had been one of incredible difficulty, the route toilsome and dangerous, amid the heats of July and August. The indomitable leader, the aged Frontenac, was carried in a chair; while Callières, the second in command, disabled by gout, rode on a horse, brought for the purpose in a batteau. After destroying the hidden provisions and standing crops, the force returned to Montreal. Frontenac sent an account of his "victory" to the king who rewarded him with the cross of the Military Order of St. Louis.[1] Next the news of the treaty of Ryswick reached America, but before peace could be patched up between the rival factions in Canada Frontenac had breathed his last.

"His own acts and words best paint his character, and it is needless to enlarge upon it. What, perhaps, may be least forgiven him is the barbarity of the warfare that he waged, and the cruelties that he permitted. Yet he was no whit more ruthless than his times and surroundings, and some of his contemporaries find fault with him for not allowing more Indian captives to be tortured. Many surpassed him in cruelty, none equalled him in capacity and vigor. When civilized enemies were once within his power he treated them according to their degree, with a chivalrous courtesy or a generous kindness. If he was a hot and pertinacious foe, he was also a fast friend, and he excited love and hatred in about equal measure. His attitude towards public enemies was always proud and peremptory, yet his courage was guided by so clear a sagacity that he never was forced to recede from the position he had taken. Towards Indians, he was an admirable compound of sternness and conciliation. Of the immensity of his services to the colony there can be no doubt. He found it under Denonville, in humiliation and terror; he left it in honor and almost in triumph."[2]

[1] Parkman. [2] Parkman: *Death of Frontenac.*

THE WAR SONG.

A Passamaquoddy Legend.[1]

An old chief, sinking beneath the weight of years, yet strong in magic power, had been worsted in battle with the Mohawks and was in full retreat. When night came on, the enemy encamped; but the old chief and his disabled braves kept travelling till midnight. Then they stopped for rest, and the old man sang his war song:

I remember the days when I was young;
I never fled from fear of death, as I do now.

I remember the days when I was young;
I never fell back before an enemy, as I do now.
Alas! I have left my best and bravest warriors behind me;
They will be put to torture by the Mohawks.

I remember the days when I was young;
I never left one of my braves behind, as I do now.
Alas! I have left some of my best and bravest warriors.

I remember the days when I was young;
I never then did have to sing the song that I sing now.
Let all the hearts of the trees hear my poor, weeping song;
Let them arise and help me to rescue the braves I have left behind.
Let all the tops of the trees listen to my song, and come to help me.
Let all the roots of the trees arise, and come to help me.

I remember the days when I was young.

The song grew louder and louder, until the enemy heard it and trembled. The old chief's voice was heard even in the most distant part of his country, and every faithful warrior grasped his tomahawk at the call. Before daylight the people from his scattered villages had come to his assistance, as did also the hearts of the trees, the tops of the trees, and the roots of the trees,— a mighty army; and the Mohawks were driven back to their own land.

[1] Contributed by J. Vroom.

THE FOUNDATION OF HALIFAX.

By Harry Piers, Assistant Legislative Librarian, Halifax.

By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the British restored Cape Breton to France, but retained the mainland of Nova Scotia. It became evident that some change must be made in the condition of the latter colony, if it was to prosper and remain in British possession. A great proportion of its inhabitants consisted of French Acadians whose sympathies were entirely anti-English, and who could hardly fail to be a retarding element in its progress under British rule. Those who gave the subject most thought advised that the strength of the Crown be augmented by increasing the population by loyal colonists from the motherland.

At the conclusion of the late war, many regiments had been broken or reduced, and England was filled with discharged soldiers and seamen, who were looking for new channels in which to turn their energies. These, it was thought, formed good stock with which to revitalize and strengthen the transatlantic colony.

The scheme seemed an excellent one, and was approved by His Majesty, who referred its execution to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, at the head of whom was the Earl of Halifax. This gentleman entered into the project with great zeal. An advertisement was inserted in a London newspaper, offering inducements to dismissed officers and private men of the land and sea service, as well as artificers, to emigrate to Nova Scotia. The government promised a free passage, grants of land in fee simple, free from the payment of any quit rents or taxes for ten years, as well as necessary arms, agricultural, fishing and building implements, and food for twelve months. The grants of land were to vary from fifty acres for every private soldier or seaman to six hundred for every officer above the rank of a captain, with additional grants for each member of a family.

This offer immediately attracted attention, and in a couple of months' time 2,576 adventurers—men, women and children—were ready to sail for their new home. Parliament granted £40,000 to cover the first expenses, and thirteen transports were ordered to embark the colonists.

The new town was to be formed on the harbor of Chebucto, on the eastern coast of the province. The excellence of this harbor had

long been known in England, and it had frequently been the resort of fishing vessels. No one, however, lived there, save possibly a few French families and Indians.

The command of the expedition was given to the Hon. Edward Cornwallis, son of the third Baron of that name, who was to assume the governorship of Nova Scotia at a salary of a thousand pounds a year. As subsequent events proved, no better choice of a leader could have been made.

Without waiting for the departure of the transports, Cornwallis and his suite set sail from England in the middle of May, 1749, and, after a boisterous voyage of one month, sighted the Nova Scotian coast. Having called at the little French settlement of Malagash, now Lunenburg, he coasted along to Chebucto Harbor, where he cast anchor on the 21st of June (old style).[1] Nothing met his eye but the magnificent harbor and ranges of low hills clothed with an unbroken forest that grew to the shore. Three years before, the remnant of d'Anville's immense fleet had ridden at anchor in the same waters, and had encamped its dying multitudes upon the beach. No clearings, however, had then been made, and the country which Cornwallis gazed upon seemed untouched by the hand of man.

During the last days of June and early in July the transports arrived with the settlers. Some of the ships, after discharging their passengers on George's island, were despatched to Louisbourg to carry hither Colonel Hopson and two regiments, which, in accordance with the treaty, were preparing to evacuate that town. These troops reached Chebucto late in July, bringing with them immense quantities of stores.

Immediately after his arrival, Cornwallis sent a despatch to Colonel Mascarene, lieutenant-governor at Annapolis Royal, instructing him to come to Chebucto with a quorum of his council in order that the former might take over the government. Mascarene having arrived, Cornwallis presented his commission, was sworn in, and a new council appointed. This council met for the first time on board one of the transports.[2] The fact was proclaimed by a general salute from the ships, and in honor of the event the day was given up to amusements. One of the first questions discussed by this body was the much-vexed one regarding the status of the French Acadians. As a

[1] Equivalent to July 2nd, new style.

[2] The table around which this board sat is still to be seen in the Province Building, Halifax.

result, a proclamation was issued requiring them to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown and calling upon them to assist and encourage the new colonists.

Meanwhile the settlers had been landed, and without loss of time they proceeded to hew down the woods and prepared to erect rough log-houses on the rising ground on the western side of the harbor. In clearing away the underbrush, a number of skeletons were found beside rust-eaten muskets — sad mementoes of d'Anville's ill-fated expedition.

By the beginning of August about twenty acres had been cleared, some wharves and rough storehouses had been built, a saw mill had been erected, and time had even been taken to sow grain. A small house for the governor was built in the centre of the town, and on completion was defended by a few cannon and a breastwork of gravel-filled casks. Timbers and boards for some of the buildings were brought from Boston, but most of the dwellings were to be formed of logs rough-hewn on the spot. In honor of its patron, the President of the Board of Trade and Plantations, the new settlement was called Halifax.

A plan of the proposed town had been prepared by the engineer who accompanied the expedition, and in August the settlers assembled and drew lots for the land. Each man now knew where to erect his dwelling and the work of building occupied every hand. From morn till night the sound of axe, hammer and saw could be heard throughout the settlement, which rapidly assumed a more town-like aspect. A ship now arrived with over a hundred new settlers from England, for whose accommodation two streets were added to the town.

In order to protect the place in the event of an Indian attack, it was considered necessary that an enclosing line of defence be erected. The settlers were called upon to assist, but refused. The Indians hitherto had come to the settlement from time to time on friendly missions, and a treaty of peace had been made with the tribe that dwelt near the St. John River. About the first of September, however, alarming reports were brought in, that the Micmacs and St. John's Island Indians under the priest Le Loutre were designing to molest the new settlement. In all haste the troops were employed in making a barricade of logs and brush about the town, clearing away the woods for ten yards outside, and in building five stockaded forts.

A detachment of troops was sent to the head of Bedford Basin to erect a fort and keep open the communication with the interior of the province. Arms were given to those who built without the lines, and also to such others as could be trusted, and lamps were purchased in Boston to light the streets.

The reports regarding the hostility of the Indians proved true. Parties were attacked at Canso and Chignecto; and on September 30th the settlers were startled by news of the murder of four men who had been cutting wood near a saw-mill on the opposite side of the harbor, where the town of Dartmouth now stands. The indignant council refused to formally declare war against the savages, and decided they should be treated as rebels and banditti. A proclamation was issued ordering all British subjects to capture or destroy the Micmacs, and offering ten guineas for each one taken, living or dead, or for his scalp. An additional company of rangers was directed to be raised, and likewise a company of volunteers. Detachments of irregular troops patrolled the country everywhere about the town, and work on the rough fortifications was hastened.

In December the settlers were formed into a militia, and in the following month a guard of thirty-one men of this corps was ordered to keep watch every night. The settlers, who had previously been remarkably careless of danger, were now alarmed. It was feared that one of the store-ships that was moored in a neighboring cove might be boarded by Indians when the water froze about her, and instructions were accordingly given to have the surrounding ice broken each evening.

Although Indian alarms were frequent, and various hostile acts were committed throughout the more unprotected parts of the province, the winter passed at Halifax without the expected attack. The rangers and other troops, however, had to be marched from time to time to keep order and to maintain communication with other posts. The French had some time previously taken possession of land claimed by the British, and these encroachments gave more real uneasiness to Cornwallis than the open warlike acts of the Indians, of whose power to do harm he had not a high opinion.

Although most of the inhabitants of the town had houses to shelter them during the winter, there were a few, it is said, who remained in tents, and must have suffered great discomfort. Fortunately the winter was mild and favorable. In the spring much activity prevailed.

A hospital was erected, and also a school for orphans, and vessels were fitted out for fishing on the banks. Lots in the town were now worth fifty guineas. The hastily erected barricade, thrown up during the first fall, was removed, and a line of palisades carried about the town. This formed a much better protection. St. Paul's church, which still stands in Halifax, one of the few remaining relics of the early settlement, was erected during the summer of this year, the frame of the building being imported from Massachusetts. The government also made arrangements for the erection of a dissenting meeting-house, a court-house, and a prison.

In August a ship arrived with over three hundred emigrants. These were settled on the opposite side of the harbor, where they founded the town of Dartmouth. During the following spring a great number of Germans arrived. Most of these latter were sent in 1753 to Malagash Bay, where they built the town of Lunenburg; the remainder settled chiefly in the north suburbs of Halifax.

Halifax was now firmly established, and was rapidly taking its place among the important towns of the new world. As it rose into prominence, Annapolis assumed a secondary place, save in the never-to-be-forgotten annals of history. Settlers were attracted to the new town from many directions; and its commercial, military and naval importance rapidly increased, one of its greatest advantages being the magnificent harbor that had first attracted attention to the shores of Chebucto, and suggested their fitness as the situation of a colony.

THE HESSIANS.

By J. Vroom.

The name Hessian is too often used as a word of dislike and contempt. A false idea of the ferocity and cruelty of the Hessian troops prevailed among Americans at the time of the Revolutionary War. Tories were bad enough in their estimation; and are so still, though it is no longer the fashion to abuse them. But a special antipathy to the German auxiliaries and their officers, which arose from this ill-founded dread, has been fostered for a century by writers of popular history in the United States; and no term of obloquy was too strong to apply to the hated Hessians. Even in Canada, there are careless

newspaper writers who perpetuate the wrong, forgetting that many of their readers may be descendants of Hessian soldiers who are thus maligned. Both the Loyalists and the Hessians, however, are receiving fairer treatment from the later historians of the United States.

The troops of Hesse, Brunswick and Waldeck, employed by the British government, were mercenaries, it is true, in the sense that their rulers or their home governments received money for their services in America; but the individual soldiers were not mercenaries in so disgraceful a sense as were those New Brunswickers who for the sake of pay or bounty joined the armies of the northern states in the war of the southern rebellion. Many of the Germans were not soldiers from choice: none of them had any choice about coming to America when they were ordered to do so. The German officers, without exception, were gentlemen by birth and education, comparing favorably with the very best in the British or Colonial service; the soldiers, if not better than the British, were under better control.[1]

At the close of the Revolutionary War, disbanded German soldiers obtained grants of land in Nova Scotia. In the township of Clements, between Annapolis and Digby, the shore lots were granted chiefly to Dutch-speaking Loyalists from New Jersey and Long Island. Back of these were parallel lines, two miles apart, settled by the Germans, and still known respectively as the Waldeck Line and the Hessian Line. These old soldiers proved to be good settlers, and seem to have been highly esteemed by their Dutch and English neighbors.

The old church at Moose River was built in part by the contributions of these people. It stood like a beacon on the hill, a gathering place for two generations of their descendants; and kindly thoughts of them come with the memory of its weather beaten walls. It is said to have been originally Lutheran. If so, after a time it was handed over to the Church of England; but the Hessians and Waldeckers were still regular attendants, meeting to sing their German hymns before the English service began. Their lusty chorals became weaker as time passed on; and the pathetic group of singers grew smaller, as one after another dropped out under the weight of years, until at last, two only were left to sing together. These two old men, far away from fatherland, lifting up their broken voices and their

[1] Many recent writers might be cited in support of this. For an extended discussion of the subject, see Mellick's "Story of an Old Farm," and Lowell's "Hessians in the Revolutionary War."

aching hearts to praise their God in the hymns of their childhood, were the last of the Hessians whose name had been a terror and a scorn.

It is time these Hessians and their doings were better understood, that late justice may yet take away their undeserved reproach.

THE CAPTURE OF MACKINAC IN 1812.

By Lieut-Col. E. Cruikshank.

Like a huge natural fortress in the entrance of the long narrow strait leading from Lake Huron into Lake Michigan, lies a tortoise-shaped rocky islet, some three miles across in its widest part, nine miles in circumference, and towering to the height of nearly two hundred feet above the surface of the surrounding waters. From the Indians it long ago received the name "Michilimackinac," which is understood to mean "The Great Turtle," and has since been abbreviated by dropping the first three syllables. In most places the rugged cliffs rise sheer from the water's edge, and it seems designed to command the navigation of the channel.

At Point St. Ignace, on the mainland, the Jesuits established a mission more than two centuries ago, which was soon followed by the inevitable military post and trading station. After the cession of Canada, this place was occupied by a small British garrison which, within a year, was surprised and massacred by the Ottawas, on the King's birthday, the 4th of June, 1764. When the rising of the Indians, known as Pontiac's War, was suppressed, the post was rebuilt on its former site, but in 1780, being threatened by a combined attack from the Spaniards and Americans, the garrison was removed to the island, at the southern end of which a fort of mason-work and timber was built on a bluff overhanging a safe and convenient anchorage, then called Haldimand Bay, in honor of the Governor-General of Canada of that day. A small detachment of British regulars was maintained here until 1796, when the island was transferred to the Americans, who began at once to enlarge the works with the intention of dominating the fur trade which was still entirely in the hands of British merchants.

The British garrison was then removed to the island of St. Joseph, about forty-five miles to the northeastward, where a small stockade and barracks were built for its protection.

Many British traders continued their dealings with the Indians in the United States in spite of great efforts to exclude them. Among these one of the best known and most influential was Robert Dickson, who had traded in the region between the Mississippi and the Missouri since 1786, and was reported to have ascended both of those great rivers nearly to their sources. In the autumn of 1811 he once more succeeded in evading the vigilance of the American officials and arrived at his customary trading station on the Mississippi with a large supply of goods. He found that the Indians there were in great distress, as all their crops had failed, owing to the excessively dry weather during the preceding summer, which had also driven all the big game of the prairies northward in search of pasture. During the winter he generously distributed among them his whole stock of goods and provisions, preserving the lives of many and greatly strengthening his hold on their affections. A great number of the people of the plains, however, perished miserably. It is stated that Red Thunder, a principal chief of the Sioux, living near the Missouri, when on his way to Prairie du Chien in the early spring, discovered that six lodges of his tribe had died of hunger and cold, and forty-five others had disappeared and were supposed to have famished on the plains. The starving wretches had even pounded up for food the dry bones of buffaloes which had lain undisturbed on the prairies for years.

On the 18th of June, 1812, as Dickson was returning to Montreal, he was met at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers by a messenger from Captain Glegg, Military Secretary to General Brock, bearing a letter dated at York on the 27th February, informing him that war with the United States might be expected, and asking information as to the number of "his friends that might be depended on."

In reply Dickson stated that all his "friends," whose numbers he estimated at 250 or 300 warriors, would assemble at St. Joseph about the 30th of June. Punctually to the day he arrived there himself, accompanied by 130 Sioux, Winnebagoes (Puants), and Menomonees (Folles Avoines), commanded by their principal chiefs. The garrison of that post then consisted of a sergeant and two gunners of the royal artillery, and three officers and forty-one non-commissioned officers and privates of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, mostly infirm and worn-out men who were considered unfit for any service except garrison duty, under the command of Captain Charles Roberts of the latter

corps, who was himself almost an invalid. The station there was described as "a square consisting merely of high cedar pickets to enclose the blockhouse and public buildings, the whole in bad repair and incapable of any defence."[1] It was armed with four very old iron six pounders, which were honey-combed and nearly useless, and six small swivels. Very few *voyageurs* had yet assembled there, as the British traders had left many of their men with their furs at other places. On the third of July, Mr. Toussaint Pothier (afterwards a member of the Legislative Council of Canada) arrived from Montreal in the capacity of agent for the Southwest Fur Company. Five days days later, an express came from General Brock, at York, announcing the declaration of war and directing Roberts to attack Mackinac as soon as practicable. The *voyageurs* upon the island and from the trading stations on the mainland as far as Sault Ste. Marie were hastily assembled and organized as a small battalion of volunteers under the command of Mr. Lewis Crawford. Messengers were even sent to distant Fort William, at the head of Lake Superior, to seek the assistance of the agents of the Northwest Fur Company. They promptly responded to this summons, but arrived too late to render any service. "Those gentlemen," said Mr. Pothier, "with great alacrity came down with a strong party to co-operate, bringing to St. Marie's several carriage guns and other arms; and altho' the distance between St. Joseph's and Fort William is about 500 miles, they arrived at Michilimackinac the ninth day from the date of the express and found us in peaceable possession."

But Roberts found it quite impossible to equip his auxiliaries from the government stores, "having but forty guns in the Indian store and no gunpowder but what was required for the great guns of the garrison, and ball cartridges for his own men only, not a flint; in short the garrison was deficient of everything necessary for such an undertaking." In this dilemma he applied to Pothier who promptly threw open the storehouses of the company without hesitation, and the Northwest company's brig "Caledonia" was intercepted on her way down the lake and pressed into service. The next step was to secure the goodwill, if not the co-operation, of the powerful nation of the Ottawas, residing at L'Arbre Croche and other villages near Mackinac. Roberts stated that it was "a subject of much speculation how these people would act." In dealing with them he found a useful ally in

[1] Report of Lt.-Col. R. H. Bruyeres, R. E.

the person of Amable Chevalier, one of their chiefs, who was the half-breed son of Louis Chevalier, a well-known French-Canadian trader. He was born and brought up among the Ottawas of L'Arbre Croche, but had for some years resided at the lake of the Two Mountains, near Montreal, whence he had returned to the "upper country" the autumn before to hunt during the winter. His influence among his mother's people was considerable, and he made every effort to engage them in the British interest. On the 12th of July most of the principal chiefs arrived at St. Joseph's and reported that no reinforcements had arrived at Mackinac when they had passed that island the day before. Robert instantly held a council, at which he made known his design; and after a long private consultation among themselves, and "much prevarication," they agreed to join him, and returned to their villages to arm their warriors. But even Chevalier afterwards admitted that "he never could bring himself to have confidence in their fidelity."

By that time another express had arrived from Brock with orders to suspend hostilities. Three days later, a third express came in with instructions "to adopt the most prudent measures, either of offence or defence, that circumstances might point out;" and, being informed at the same time that reinforcements were expected at Mackinac, Roberts determined to attack that place at once. He had assembled 230 Canadians and 320 Indians, but among the latter there were only thirty Ottawas. Amable Chevalier was sent off to their villages to collect the remainder and join the expedition at the island. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 16th July the regulars, with two six-pounders, were embarked on the "Caledonia," and accompanied by 150 *voyageurs*, only half of whom were armed, and 300 Indians, in a fleet of ten batteaux and seventy canoes, set sail for Mackinac. The lake was calm and the voyage was without incident until midnight, when a canoe was seen approaching in the moonlight. It was pursued and taken. The prisoner proved to be Michael Donsman, an American trader sent out to reconnoitre St. Joseph's by the commandant of Mackinac, whose suspicions had been excited by the conduct of the Ottawas.

"By the almost unparalleled exertions of the Canadians," Captain Roberts reported, "we arrived at the place of rendezvous at three o'clock the following morning." The Ottawas had not arrived, but a landing was made at once without opposition, and the prisoner Donsman was sent to the settlement to warn the inhabitants to seek

the protection of the invaders before the attack began. The Canadian volunteers, officered by such men as Crawford, Pothier, Johnson, Enuatinger, Livingston, Rolette, La Croix and Frank, were set at work cutting a road and hauling one of the unwieldly iron guns to the summit of a ridge which overlooked the fort, while the Indians, directed by Dickson, Askin, Langlade, Nolin and Cadotte, occupied the adjacent woods.

The fort was a quadrangular enclosure, formed with cedar pickets twelve or fourteen feet in height, with block-houses at each angle, surrounded by a ditch and containing almost two acres of ground. Inside were the barracks, store-houses, and a bomb-proof magazine. Seven guns were mounted, and the garrison consisted of three officers and sixty-one men of the 1st Regiment of United States Artillery under Lieut. Porter Hanks. Nine small trading vessels lay in the harbor, whose crews, numbering forty-seven persons, might have been called to the assistance of the troops. But Hanks had received no information of the declaration of war, and his post was not well prepared for defence. Most of the inhabitants of the little village of some thirty houses clustered about the Roman Catholic church, almost within the shadow of the stockade, had already fled to the west side of the island to claim the protection promised them by the British commander. At ten o'clock a summons to surrender was sent in, which Hanks stated officially was the first intimation he had received of the existence of war. In a very short time, articles of capitulation were agreed on, by which the fort was surrendered and the garrison became prisoners of war. At noon the British flag was hoisted. Four of the schooners taken in the harbor, the "Mary," "Salina," "Erie" and "Friend's Good Will," were among the largest of the few trading vessels then on the upper lakes, and were loaded with seven hundred packages of furs, being the result of a year's trading of the American Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor was one of the principal members.

The Indians were kept so well under control that Captain Roberts himself was astonished. "It is a circumstance I believe without precedent," he said, "and demands the greatest praise for all those who conducted the Indians, that though these people's minds were much heated, yet as soon as they heard the capitulation was signed, they all returned to their canoes, and not one drop, either of man's or animal's blood, was spilt, till I gave an order for a certain number of bullocks to be purchased for them."

The results of this bloodless conquest were important. General Hull attributed his misfortunes largely to this event. "All the hives of northern Indians," he said, "became hostile and were let loose upon us." The fear that "a large body of savages from the north" would be directed against his army seems to have greatly influenced his mind, and disposed him ultimately to surrender his whole force.

FOUNDERS OF FREDERICTON—THE STORY OF A GRANDMOTHER.

By W. O. Raymond, M.A.

INTRODUCTORY.

During the war of the American Revolution, the Loyalists were by no means passive spectators of the course of events. Stung by the persecutions of their "rebel countrymen," who confiscated their property and subjected them to gross indignities, they sought protection within the British lines. Here many of them enlisted in one or other of the Loyalist corps commonly known as the British American regiments.

The number of Loyalists who served their king in arms was greater than is commonly supposed. At least fifty different Loyalist corps were organized in the old colonies, many of which served with marked distinction and won laurels on hard fought fields of battle. In addition there were about ten military organizations of Loyalists under General Haldimand in Canada at the close of the war. The fifty corps that served in the old colonies comprised about three hundred companies, including forty-seven troops of cavalry.

At the time of their maximum enrolment, the British American regiments numbered over 15,000 men,—all ranks included. This, however, by no means represents the total number of Loyalists who were in arms at one time or another, for the *personnel* of the various regiments kept constantly changing as the war progressed. Many died on the field of battle or in the regimental hospitals, some were disabled, some taken prisoners by the enemy, and some—to their shame be it said—grew tired of service and returned to their former

homes. It is certain that at least 25,000 Loyalists (exclusive of those in Canada) served the king in arms during the course of the war.

In point of numbers, the foremost of the Loyalist corps was that known as the New Jersey Volunteers, or "Skinner's Greens." It was organized in the latter part of the year 1776, by Brigadier-General Cortland Skinner. It comprised at first six battalions commanded respectively by Lieutenant-Colonels Elisha Lawrence, John Morris, Edward Vaughan Dongan, Abraham VanBuskirk, Thomas Barton, and Isaac Allen. General Skinner's brigade, at the time of its maximum strength, numbered about 1,400 of all ranks.

While the record of the New Jersey Volunteers on the field of battle was perhaps less brilliant than that of such corps as the Queen's Rangers, the 1st and 2nd DeLancey's, and the British Legion, it rendered substantial service at various points in New Jersey, and also in the defence of Staten Island; and one of the battalions, under Lieut.-Colonel Isaac Allen, was conspicuous for its gallantry in the southern campaigns in Georgia and the Carolinas. In consequence of severe losses incurred at Staten Island and elsewhere, the first and fifth battalions were amalgamated under Lieut.-Colonel Barton, and the third and sixth under Lieut.-Colonel Allen. This occurred about March, 1778. A further consolidation took place in the autumn of 1781, when the companies of Lieut.-Colonel Morris' battalion were attached to the first and fourth battalions. Thus at the close of the war the six original battalions had been reduced to three. These were commanded respectively by Lieut.-Colonel Stephen DeLancey, Lieut.-Colonel Isaac Allen, and Lieut.-Colonel Abraham VanBuskirk.

Colonel VanBuskirk's battalion contained a very large Dutch element. It was recruited at New York, Staten Island and in the neighboring parts of New Jersey. It appears to have been a reliable and serviceable corps, and had as its commander a rough and ready old soldier. Among the officers were Major Philip VanCortland, Captains William VanAllen, Peter Ruttan, Samuel Ryerson, Jacob VanBuskirk and Waldron Blaan; Lieutenants Martin Ryerson, James Sarvenier, John Heslop, John VanNorden, Joost (or Justus) Earle and John Simonson; Ensigns Colin McVean, Xenophen Jouett, Malcolm Wilmot, William Sorrell, and Frederick Handorff.

The fleet, with such of the Loyalist troops as had elected to be disbanded on the River St. John, left New York on the 15th day of September, 1783, and arrived safely at St. John on the 27th of the

same month, with the exception of the two ships, "Martha" and "Esther." Of these the former was wrecked on a ledge near the Seal Islands, afterwards known as "Soldier's Ledge," and out of 170 individuals on board more than half were drowned. The "Esther" arrived at her destination several days after her sister ships, having narrowly escaped destruction by getting out of her course. She had on board the third battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers.

As already mentioned, the Dutch element was predominant in Colonel VanBuskirk's battalion, and by reason of the settlement of so many of the men of this corps in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the same thrifty element that figures conspicuously in the development of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, was planted in the Maritime provinces. Among those who arrived at St. John in the "Esther" were Lodewick Fisher,[1] his wife Mary, and their three children, Eliza, Henry and Peter, all of whom were born on Staten Island during the turmoil of events connected with the war.

The story that follows does not pretend to be quoted verbatim from the lips of the good old lady who was the narrator, but is based upon the notes made by one of her granddaughters containing recollections of her grandmother's story of the founding of Fredericton.

THE GRANDMOTHER'S STORY.

Your grandfather, Lewis Fisher, joined the New Jersey Volunteers on the 7th of December, 1776, and was taken prisoner by the rebels a few weeks afterwards along with his brother Peter and fifteen others. After an absence of a year and nine months he returned to his duty October 2, 1778, having made his escape from confinement.

When the war closed the New Jersey Volunteers lay encamped at New Town creek near Brooklyn, Long Island. We sailed in the ship "Esther," with the fleet for Nova Scotia. Some of our ships were bound for Halifax, some for Shelburne and some for St. John's river. Our ship going the wrong track was nearly lost. When we got to St. John we found the place all in confusion: some were living in log houses, some building huts, and many of the soldiers living in their tents at the Lower Cove.

Soon after we landed, we joined a party bound up the river in a schooner to St. Ann's.[2] It was eight days before we got to Oromocto, and there the captain landed us, being unwilling on account of the lateness of the season or for some other reason, to go further. He charged us each four dollars for the passage.

[1] After his arrival in New Brunswick, Mr. Fisher bore the name of Lewis, the English equivalent of Lodewick.

[2] The old name for Fredericton.

We spent the night on shore and the next day the women and children proceeded with some of the party to St. Ann's in Indian canoes; the rest came on foot. We reached our destination the 8th day of October, tired with our long journey, and pitched our tents at the place now called Salamanca, near the shore. The next day we explored for a place to encamp, for the winter was at hand and we had no time to lose. The season was wet and cold, and we were much discouraged at the gloomy prospect before us. Those who had arrived a little earlier in the fall had made better preparations for the winter; some had built small log huts. This we were unable to do owing to the lateness of our arrival. Snow fell on the 2nd day of November to the depth of six inches. We pitched our tents amidst the shelter of the woods and tried to cover them with spruce boughs. Stones were used for fire places. Our tent had no floor but the ground. The winter was very cold, with deep snows which we tried to keep from drifting in by putting a large rug at the door. The snow that lay six feet deep around us helped greatly in sheltering us from the cold. How we lived through that awful winter, I hardly know. There were mothers that had been reared in a pleasant country enjoying all the comforts of life, with helpless children in their arms. They clasped their infants to their bosoms and tried by the warmth of their own bodies to protect them from the biting frost. Sometimes a part of the family had to remain up during the night to keep the fires going, so as to prevent the rest from freezing. Some destitute people made use of boards which the older ones kept heating before the fire and applied by turns to the smaller children to keep them warm. Many women and children, and some of the men, died from cold and exposure. Graves were dug with axes and shovels near the spot where our party had landed; and there in the stormy wintry weather our loved ones were laid to rest. We had no minister, and had to bury them without any religious service. The first burial ground continued to be used for some years until it was nearly filled. We called it the "Loyalist Provincials' burial ground."

Among those who came with us to St. Ann's, or who were there when we arrived were Messrs. Swim, Burkstaff, McComesky, three named Ridner, Wooley, Bass, Ryerse, Paine, Acker, Lownsberry, Ingraham, Buchanan, Ackerman, Vanderbeck, Donley, Smith and Essington, with some few others.[1]

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1 In the muster rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers, nearly all these names are to be found. I find in Capt. Waldron Blaan's company:—John Swim, Vincent Swim, Moses McComesky, David Burkstaff and Frederick Burkstaff; in Col. VanBuskirk's company:—Abraham Vanderbeck, Conrad Ridner, Abraham Ackerman, Morris Ackerman and Marmaduke Ackerman; in Capt. Edward Earle's company:—Lodewick Fisher, Peter Ridnor and Peter Smith; in Capt. Samuel Ryerson's company:—Samuel Buchanan; in Capt. Jacob Buskirk's company:—James Ackerman. There is also a Sergeant Elihu Wooley in another company. Benjamin Ingraham was a sergeant in the King's American Regiment. He served in the southern campaign and was severely wounded at Camden and nearly died of yellow fever. He arrived at St. Ann's in a row-boat in October, 1783, built a small log house in the woods into which he moved on the 6th of November, at which time there was six inches of snow on the ground. W. O. R.

When the Loyalists arrived there were only three houses standing on the old St. Ann's plain. Two of them were old framed houses, the other a log house. [This stood about at the lower gate of the late Judge Fisher's place.] The houses must have been built by the first inhabitants, who were French. There were said to have been two bodies of people murdered here. It could not have been long before the arrival of the Loyalists that the last party were murdered.[1]

Many of the Loyalists who came in the spring had gone further up the river; but they were little better off for provisions than we were at St. Ann's. The supplies we expected before the close of navigation did not come, and at one time starvation stared us in the face. It was a dreary contrast to our former condition. Some of our men had to go down the river with hand sleds or toboggans to get food for their famishing families. A full supply of provisions was looked for in the spring, but the people were betrayed by those they depended upon to have supplied them. All the settlers were reduced to great straits and had to live after the Indian fashion. A party of Loyalists who came before us late in the spring had gone up the river farther,[2] but they were no better off than those at St. Ann's. The men caught fish and hunted moose when they could. In the spring we made maple sugar. We ate fiddle heads, grapes and even leaves of trees, to allay the pangs of hunger. On one occasion some poisonous weeds were eaten along with the fiddle heads; one or two died, and Dr. Earle had all he could do to save my life.

As soon as the snow was off the ground we began to build log houses, but were obliged to desist for want of food. Your grandfather went up the river to Captain McKay's[3] for provisions and found no one at home but an old colored slave woman who said her master and his man had gone out to see if they could obtain some potatoes or meal, having in the house only half a box of biscuits for themselves. Some of the people at St. Ann's who had planted a few potatoes were obliged to dig them up again and eat them.

In our distress we were gladdened by the discovery of some large patches of pure white beans marked with a black cross. They had probably been originally planted by the French, but were now growing wild. In our joy at this fortunate discovery we called them at first the "Royal Provincials' bread," but afterwards the "staff of life and hope of the starving." I planted some of these beans with my own hands and the seed was preserved in our family for many years.

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[1] This tradition is probably connected with the destruction of the French settlement at St. Ann's in March, 1759, by a company of Rangers under command of Capt. Moses Hazen, as detailed in the New Brunswick Magazine for July, 1898, pp. 9-10.

[2] The reference, no doubt, is to the King's American Dragoons, who settled in Prince William.

[3] Captain John McKay of the Queen's Rangers, who lived in the Parish of Queensbury, where he was a prominent magistrate. His wife was a sister of Judge Saunders.

There was great rejoicing when the first schooner at length arrived with corn-meal and rye. In those days the best passages up and down the river took from three to five days. Sometimes the schooners were a week or ten days on the way. It was not during the first year alone that we suffered for want of food, other years were nearly as bad.

The first summer after our arrival all hands united in building their log houses. Doctor Earle's was the first that was finished. Our people had but few tools and those of the rudest sort. They had neither bricks nor lime, and chimneys and fireplaces were built of stone laid in yellow clay. They covered the roofs of the houses with bark bound over with small poles. The windows had only four small panes of glass.

The first store opened at St. Ann's after our arrival was kept by a man named Cairnes, who lived in an old house on the bank of the river which stood near the gate of the first church built in Fredericton. [The site was in front of the present cathedral.] He used to sell fish at a penny each, and butternuts at two for a penny. He also sold tea at $2.00 per lb., which was to us a wonderful boon. We greatly missed our tea. Sometimes we used an article called Labrador,[1] and sometimes spruce or hemlock bark for drinking, but I despised it.

There were no domestic animals in our settlement at first except one black and white cat which was a great pet. Some wicked fellows who came from the States, after a while, killed, roasted, and ate the cat, to our great regret and indignation. A man named Conley owned the first cow. Poor Conley afterwards hanged himself—the reason for which was never known. For years there were no teams, and our people had to work hard to get their provisions. Potatoes were planted amongst the blackened stumps in the little clearings, and turned out well. Pigeons used to come in great numbers, and were shot or caught in nets by the score. We found in their crops some small round beans, which we planted; they grew very well and made excellent green beans, which we ate during the summer. In the winter time our people had sometimes to haul their provisions by hand fifty or a hundred miles over the ice or through the woods. In summer they came in slow sailing vessels. On one occasion Doctor Earle and others went to Canada on snow shoes with hand sleds, returning with some bags of flour and biscuit. It was a hard and dangerous journey, and they were gone a long time.

For several years we lived in dread of the Indians, who were sometimes very bold. I have heard that the Indians from Canada once tried to murder the people on the St. John River. Coming down the river they captured an Indian woman of the St. John tribe, and the chief said they would spare her if she would be their guide. They had eleven canoes in all; and they were tied together, and the canoe of the guide attached to the hindermost. As they

[1] *Ledum latifolium*—a heath plant called in the botanies Labrador Tea.

drew near the Grand Falls, most of the party were asleep; and the rest were deceived by the woman who told them that the roaring they heard was caused by a fall at the mouth of a stream that here joined the main river. At the critical moment the Indian woman cut the cord that fastened her canoe to the others and escaped to the shore, while the Canada Indians went over the fall and were lost.

In the early days of the settlement at Fredericton, some fellows that had come from the States used to disturb the other settlers. They procured liquor at Vanhorne's tavern and drank heavily. They lived in a log cabin which soon became a resort for bad characters. Here they formed a plot to go up the river and plunder the settlers—provisions being their main object. They agreed that if any of their party were killed in the expedition they should prevent the discovery of their identity by putting him into a hole cut in the river. While endeavouring to effect an entrance into a settler's house, a shot was fired out of a window, wounding a young man in the leg. The others then desisted from their attempt, but cut a hole in the ice and thrust the poor fellow under who had been shot, although he begged to be allowed to die in the woods, and promised if he was found alive he would not betray them, but they would not trust him.

The narrator of the foregoing incidents, like the majority of the old loyalist matrons, evidently possessed sterling qualities which she transmitted to her descendants. To her son, Peter Fisher, who accompanied his parents to New Brunswick in 1783, appertains the honor of being our pioneer historian. A grandson, the Hon. Charles Fisher, Attorney-general of the province and Judge of the Supreme Court, has left his impress on the pages of our provincial history. Descendants of the fourth generation are now numbered among our most active and influential citizens.

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INHERITANCES FROM OUR HISTORIC PAST.

By W. F. Ganong, Ph.D.

A short time ago, a wide-awake Canadian school boy was told that a gentleman with whom he was then talking intended to write a history of one of the provinces. "Sir," said the boy to the historian, "if you do, I hope you will leave out about ten chapters on constitutional government." This story is true, and it illustrates a striking fact about history, namely, that its most important parts are often not at all interesting to young people. Yet those who devote their lives to its study agree that its most valuable portions are those which investigate the origin and development of our present social and political surroundings. By such history, they tell us, are we enabled to understand better the conditions under which we live and the problems which confront us, and hence to act more wisely as men and as citizens. Such history, too, makes available the lessons of the past for our guidance in the future. It is less interesting, it is true, than the stories of discoveries and battles and conquests, but it should nevertheless receive a full share of our attention and appreciation.

Perhaps this introduction may seem not to have much to do with my present subject; but there is at least a connection in this way, that this article deals with the origin of certain features of our surroundings, while its title may appear so unattractive that I think it best thus to bespeak the reader's attention.

Everyone knows that our common customs, language, knowledge, etc., are derived from various sources in the past; but we rarely stop to think to what periods or peculiarities of our history we are indebted for them. The history of any country falls into periods, and each of these contributes something to the succeeding ones, and through them to the present. What do the people of New Brunswick, for example, possess as inheritances from the earlier periods of their varied and eventful history?

In the Pre-historic or Indian Period, New Brunswick was occupied by two Indian tribes, the Micmacs and the Maliseets, the latter with a branch known as the Passamaquoddies. To-day, there remain among us, according to the latest census, 1627 Indians, about one-half of one per cent. of our total population, an inoffensive intelligent people, use-

ful as guides and hunters and as makers of wooden wares. To them we owe our birch canoe, most graceful of water-craft, and our knowledge of the easiest routes of travel through the unsettled parts of the Province. The snowshoe, moccasin and toboggan we owe not so much to our own Indians directly as to the Indian tribes in general; and doubtless they would be in use in New Brunswick had our own tribes never existed. Most important, however, of all our inheritances from them, and certainly the one that will endure the longest, is our attractive place-nomenclature, especially that of most of our rivers, and of many lakes and islands. Nearly one hundred and fifty names of places in common use in New Brunswick, including those that are most characteristic and pleasing, are of Indian origin. Who is there who would exchange them for any other kind, or who does not wish we had yet more of them? Aside from names of places, however, we seem to have adopted very few, if any, Indian words, though no doubt the language of the Acadian French, who were ever the good friends of the Indians, contains some such words. Canoe, toboggan, moccasin, squaw, and a few others which are of Indian origin, were not adopted from our own Indians directly, but from other tribes through travellers and explorers. The only word I can find in use among us that may possibly have been taken directly from our Indians is *bogan*, a name applied by lumbermen and hunters to a still cove by a stream, which is probably a corruption of the Maliseet *pokelogan*, applied to the same kind of a place. We have no custom or sport derived from our own Indians, for tobogganing, snowshoeing, etc., are not adopted from them directly. In an indirect way, through the kindness they often showed to our Loyalist ancestors in the severity of the first dreadful winters, we owe them much. But on the whole our debt to this period is not great.

The Period of Exploration in New Brunswick possibly began with voyages of the Norsemen to Miramichi Bay before 1000 A. D. It includes Portuguese voyages to the Bay of Fundy early in the sixteenth century, the voyage of Cartier to our North Shore in 1534, already fully described in his own words in an earlier number of this series,[1] and the voyage of Champlain to the Bay of Fundy in 1604. These voyages were of the utmost importance, at the time, in making this country known to the world, thus opening it up for trade and

[1] In Number I.

settlement, but their only recognizable results to-day are a few place-names—Fundy, Acadia, Chaleur, St. John, St. Croix, and possibly Miramichi.

The Acadian or French Period began with the settlement by De Monts on St. Croix Island in 1604,[1] and lasted until after the fall of Quebec. To it we owe, first of all, nearly one-fourth of our population, the Acadian French, who live along the North Shore, on the Memramcook, and at Madawaska, retaining largely their own language and customs. They are a contented race, a valuable element in our population, and are likely to play a far more important part in the history of the province in the future than they have in the past. To this period, too, we owe some of the most striking incidents and saddest memories in our annals, such as Madame La Tour's defence of her husband's fort at the mouth of the St. John, and the Expulsion. From this period also we derive at least fifty, and probably more, of the place-names in use to-day; or, if we count those given recently by the Acadians, two or three times this number. We have, however, adopted from them but few other words, of which I recall only *aboideau*, *gaspereau* and *perdu* (often pronounced *budoo*), applied much like the word *bogan* already mentioned. *Portage* and a few others are not from the Acadians directly, but are of wide use. Visible relics of another kind remaining to us from this period are ruins of old forts in several parts of the province, and a few other historic objects.

The English Period began with settlements by New Englanders on the St. John shortly after 1760, and ended with the coming of the Loyalists in 1783. In this interval there came to New Brunswick many settlers from New England, Pennsylvania, England and Scotland. We have no means of knowing how many there were, but we may estimate the numbers at about two thousand, and perhaps about five per cent of our population is descended from them. So like in character were these settlers to the Loyalists who came later, and so thoroughly did they mingle with the newcomers, that it is very difficult to trace any features of language, government, etc., that we owe to them directly. From this period, however, we have derived some seventy of our place-names in use to-day, including the names of one county and several parishes, Sunbury, Maugerville, Burton, Gagetown, Hillsborough, Hopewell, Moncton, Sackville. That part

[1] Described in No. I. of this Series.

the western boundary of the province formed by the St. Croix and the north line from its source was fixed, at least in theory, in this period, and the present boundaries of some of the parishes mentioned above were determined in whole or in part when they were established as townships in this period. I cannot trace any custom, sport, words in our language, or other inheritances from this period.

The next and by far the most important period of New Brunswick history is the Loyalist Period. The story of the Loyalists has been told so well by Sir John Bourinot in his well-known book, as well as in brief in this series,[1] that it is needless to repeat it here. But everybody should know that the American revolution was due to the short-sighted obstinacy of King George the Third and some of his ministers. The Loyalists were those Americans who, while uniting with all their fellow-countrymen in condemning the oppression of Americans by the king, differed from them in their views as to the proper method of obtaining redress for their wrongs, holding that constitutional agitation and not armed revolt was the proper remedy. But when the force-party had succeeded in sustaining their views by appeal to arms, they stained their great victory by intolerance and oppression of their more conservative, but no less loyal, fellow-countrymen, and these had to flee to new homes. These were the Loyalists, the real founders of New Brunswick, her Pilgrim Fathers, her priceless accession. The Loyalists were a part of the flower of the American population and were on the average better educated, more regardful of law and order, and more valuable citizens than the people they left behind in the new states. From twelve to fifteen thousand of them came to New Brunswick, and it is safe to say that one-half of our population, including most of the best parts of it is descended from them. To this period we owe nearly everything that is best in New Brunswick to-day—the foundation of the province, its first division into counties and parishes, our laws, language, customs. In fact we owe to it so much that it is easier to describe our indebtedness by a process of exclusion,—by describing what we owe to other periods and attributing all else to this.

Following the Loyalist Period is another which may be called the Post-Loyalist, extending to the present. In this Period there has been considerable immigration from England, Scotland and Ireland,

[1]Number 1.

and even from the United States. Probably some twenty-five per cent of our population is from these sources, but it has come so gradually and been assimilated so well, that, except for numbers, it has hardly produced any great effect upon our people as they are to-day. In this period, we have of course, developed some new customs, words, laws, etc., and have developed the province in very many respects.

Perhaps in this hasty sketch of our indebtedness to past periods, I have missed some things of importance, and if so, I hope that others will properly set them forth.

NICHOLAS DENYS.

By James Hannay, D.C.L.

The story of the rivalries and conflicts of Latour and Charnisay has been frequently told, but comparatively little has been written of their contemporary, Nicholas Denys, who was certainly a man of mark, and who enjoys the distinction of having written a book on Acadia which even at the present day can be read with interest. In these volumes, Nicholas Denys speaks to us still, while Latour and Charnisay are only known to us through the writings of others. Indeed, we are indebted in no small degree to Denys for what we know of the lives and characters of the two men we have named. Unfortunately the work of Denys is so rare that it is not available to the general public; but I am glad to know that a translation of it by Sir John Bourinot, is shortly to be published.

Nicholas Denys was born in France in the year 1598, and he came to Acadia with the Commander Isaac de Razilly in 1632, when the latter took possession of the country on behalf of the French King. Denys seems to have been well known to De Razilly prior to his voyage to Acadia, for he entered into partnership with him for the prosecution of the shore fisheries. De Razilly then dwelt at La Have, while the principal fishery was at Port Rossignol, the place now known as Liverpool, Nova Scotia. De Razilly and Denys had for a partner a Breton merchant of Auray, and a ship load of fish which was sent to him sold well. Denys afterwards sent the "Catherine," of two hundred tons, to Portugal with a load of codfish.

The vessel was under command of his brother Simon, whose title was DeVitray, and who afterwards became a captain in the French navy. DeVitray, however excellent as a commander, was not a good trader. He suffered himself to be defrauded of the proceeds of his cargo by the Portuguese and a ruinous loss was the result. A still worse misfortune was soon to follow, for Isaac De Razilly died in 1636. There is no doubt that the death of this man was the greatest misfortune that ever happened to Acadia, for it threw everything into confusion and brought on a civil war. It was particularly unfortunate for Denys; for it not only deprived him of the capital necessary to carry on his business with success, but also of the protection of a friend who was the master of Acadia. The colonization of Acadia by Isaac De Razilly, was under the auspices of that powerful association which Richilieu had founded, The Company of New France. De Razilly's death naturally led to a division of the authority which he had exercised, and Denys became governor of the whole coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Isles adjacent from Cape Canso to Cape Rosiers. It was a vast domain which the company had entrusted to his care, but without any white inhabitants except a few fishermen and the Jesuit missionaries who were settled at Miscou. Denys continued the shore fishery, and in connection with it erected two small forts—one at Guysboro and the other at St. Peters, in the Island of Cape Breton. He had also a fishing station at Miscou. Being a man of enterprise and ability, he soon began to do a profitable business, and would no doubt have become wealthy but for the troubles in Acadia in which he became involved.

We know very little of Denys' career in Acadia for many years; for while Latour and Charnisay were making war upon each other, Denys, who was far from the scene of the strife, was allowed to pursue his business in peace. But the capture of Latour's fort at St. John, in 1645, made Charnisay master of the situation and left him without any one in Acadia fit to oppose him. He soon proceeded to turn his attention to Denys who was occupying territory which he considered should be his own. Charnisay had obtained a new commission from the King as Governor of Acadia, and under the authority of this, captured Denys' forts, seized his goods, broke up his fishing establishments and ruined his settlers. Denys and his family had to leave the country and take refuge in Quebec.

Fortunately for Denys as well as for Latour, Charnisay was near the end of his violent and wicked career; for in 1650 he was drowned in the river of Port Royal, by the upsetting of a canoe. There is little doubt that if he had been anything but the hated tyrant that he was he would have been saved, for M. de la Varenne, writing from Louisburg a century later, relates the tradition in regard to his death. He says that "Monsieur D'Aunay, a French captain, with a servant, being overset in a canoe, within sight of some savages, they threw themselves into the water to save them, and the servant was actually saved. But the savage who had pitched upon Mons. D'Aunay, seeing who it was and remembering some blows with a cane he had received a few days before from him, took care to souse him so often in the water that he was drowned before he got ashore."

Charnisay's death enabled Denys to return to Acadia and resume the shore fishery at La Have. He also obtained from the company of New France a grant of all the territory from Canso to Cape Rosiers. This grant was made in 1653, and it was the intention of Denys to re-establish himself at St. Peters in the island of Cape Breton. But a new enemy of his interests soon appeared in the person of one Emanuel LeBorgne, who had been a creditor of Charnisay to a very large amount, and who now came to Acadia to take possession of all the dead man's property. As Charnisay had claimed the lands occupied by Denys, Le Borgne made the same claim and proceeded to dispossess the latter. Denys was busily engaged in founding a settlement at St. Peters when Le Borgne attacked him. Denys states that his people were then on shore clearing land, and that he himself had gone to St. Annes to see the harbor, when sixty of Le Borgne's men landed and made his people at St. Peters all prisoners. They also took possession of his vessel and its cargo which was valued at fifty thousand livres. Then twenty-five of Le Borgne's men were sent to lie in ambush on the road which Denys would take on returning from St. Annes, and as he was unarmed he was captured by this detachment and carried to Port Royal. As they passed La Have on the way back with their booty and prisoners, Le Borgne's men burnt down the establishment which Denys had there, not even sparing the chapel, which, with the fort and buildings was destroyed. Denys was placed in irons and confined in a dungeon at Port Royal, but he was liberated before the end of the year and went to France to obtain redress for

the injuries he had suffered. As a result of his efforts he received a confirmation of his grant and a commission from the king appointing him King's governor and lieutenant general "in all the country, territory, coasts and confines of the Great Bay of St. Lawrence, beginning from Cape Canso unto Cape Rosiers, the Island of Newfoundland, of Cape Breton, St. John, and other Islands adjacent." In the spring of 1654, Denys returned to St. Peters where he found his fort in charge of an officer whom Le Borgne had placed there. This person surrendered the fort to Denys on the grant of the company and the King's commission being produced. This ought to have ended the troubles of Denys, but it would seem that ill luck pursued him, for his fort at St. Peters caught fire and everything in it capable of being burnt was destroyed. His losses were so heavy that he was no longer able to maintain himself at St. Peters, but settled at the Nepisiguit near the site of the modern town of Bathurst. We may assume that the fact that the English had possession of most of Acadia, from 1654 to 1667, had something to do with his determination to remove from St. Peters. There he would have been exposed to constant attacks, but at Nepisiguit he was so far from the English colonies that he might hope to escape molestation. This was the case, and there he lived for many years in peace and comfort.

In his work, Denys thus describes his Nepisiguit property: "My plantation of Nepisiguit is on the shore of this basin at the distance of one league at the right of the entrance. At low tide a canoe could not approach it. I had to retire there after the burning of my fort at St. Pierre in the Island of Cape Breton. My house is flanked by four small bastions with a palisade, the pickets of which are eighteen feet high, with some pieces of ordnances in battery. The land is not of the best as there are rocks in some places. I have a large garden." The site of this fort and establishment can still be recognized. It is on the west side of Bathurst harbor, not very far from Bathurst village. Denys also founded a settlement on the Miramichi and established a fishery there. He returned to France in 1670 and left his son Richard in charge of the property. He was then seventy-two years old, and the next two years of his life seemed to have been devoted to the writing of his book, which was published in 1672. He did not go back to Acadia, but remained in France, dying there in 1688, at the great age of ninety years.

TRAITS OF INDIAN CHARACTER.

By Rev. W. O. Raymond, M.A.

The incidents here recorded are well authenticated and illustrate very fairly some of the characteristics of the aborigines of New Brunswick.

Indian Sagacity.

The following story found its way some years ago into the *Youth's Companion :*

Joshua Upham, of Massachusetts, was a prominent Loyalist, and, at the time of the Revolutionary war, a major in the mounted corps called the King's American Dragoons. After his arrival in New Brunswick he became one of the first judges of the Supreme Court.

On one occasion he was travelling through the woods in winter with an Indian for his guide. The snow was deep, and the Judge became at length so thoroughly exhausted that, sitting down, he directed the Indian to go on and get help, while he remained where he was. The Indian at first refused, but after much persuasion consented, on condition that the Judge should sit on a stump, which he pointed out, and if he fell off should immediately get on again. After some remonstrance the Judge promised to do as desired. He mounted the stump and the Indian disappeared. By and by the Judge fell asleep, and tumbled off the stump. He climbed up again, again fell asleep, and once more tumbled off. Then he understood why his Indian friend had made him promise to sit on the stump—namely, to prevent him from going to sleep and being frozen to death. When the Indian finally arrrived with help, he found the Judge still sitting on the stump, but with great difficulty keeping awake. He owed the preservation of his life to the sagacity of the red man.

Indian Superstition.

The late Edward Jack, of Fredericton, used to relate that while engaged in surveying, on one occasion he encamped with his party near Porcupine mountain in Charlotte county. One of the hands named Smith, climbed the mountain in quest of pine timber, and on his return told Saugus, an Indian, who was one of the party, that he had seen an old man on the mountain twelve feet high, with one eye, who called to him, "Where is Saugus? I want to eat him." The Indian was very badly scared at this intelligence. During the night an owl began to hoot over the camp, and filled poor Saugus with such

consternation that he woke up Mr. Jack to say that Smith's "old man" was coming. Next morning Mr. Jack offered Saugus two dollars to go up the mountain for a knife which Smith had left sticking in a spruce tree, but Saugus was not to be tempted by the bribe to take so dangerous a journey.[1]

Indian Endurance.

A young Maliseet Indian named Peter Loler,[2] who lived on the St. John river about thirty-five years ago, was noted in his time for swiftness of foot and powers of endurance. On a certain occasion he presented himself to the driver of the old four-in-hand stage coach for a passage from Fredericton to Woodstock, the distance being rather more than sixty miles. The driver was the celebrated John Turner, one of the most accomplished whips of his generation, and popular with all travellers. The stage coach was pretty well filled, the day was warm, and Turner after a brief consultation with his passengers declined the Indian's money, telling him in plain Saxon that "his room was better than his company." This angered Loler, who replied, "All right, John! Me be in Woodstock first!"

At 8 o'clock, a. m., Indian and stage coach left Fredericton together, and together they proceeded, and despite Turner's endeavor to throw dust in the Indian's face, the latter was always a little in advance. He stopped at every place the stage stopped to change horses (this occurred four or five times on the journey), and took his dinner with Indian solemnity along with the passengers at the "half-way house." As they drew near their destination, the Indian's savage nature seemed to assert itself; he ran like a deer, waving his cap at intervals, as he passed the farm houses, and shouting defiantly.

Turner now began to ply the whip in earnest, for he had no intention of allowing the redskin to beat him out. The passengers by this time had begun to wager their money on the result of the race, and grew wild with excitement. The Indian camping ground, three miles below Woodstock, was passed with Loler fifty yards in advance: but the camping-ground was not Peter's destination. He saluted it with a war whoop and hurried on. It was still early in the afternoon when the quiet citizens of Woodstock were aroused in a manner utterly unexpected. The stage coach came tearing into town at the heels of

[1] See Hannay's History of Acadia, p. 56.

[2] The Maliseet form of the French name Laurent (English, Lawrence).

an Indian running as for his life, John Turner plying the whip in lively fashion, and four very hot and tired horses galloping at their utmost speed. The finish was a close one, but the Indian was ahead. As soon as he had sufficiently regained his breath to speak, he walked over to where Turner was standing and philosophically remarked, "John! me here first!" Turner's answer is not recorded.

Our story should end here; but, alas for poor human nature, it remains to be told that the Indian was soon surrounded by a crowd of friendly admirers, and before the close of the day was gloriously —or rather *ingloriously*—drunk.

Indian Cruelty.

In the year 1745, a party of French and Indians captured a schooner lying at anchor near Annapolis, and the master of the vessel, William Pote, and others of those captured, were taken up the St. John river and carried as prisoners to Quebec. On their way they stopped at the Indian village of Aucpaque, the site of which is a few miles above Fredericton, where they had a most unhappy experience which we shall let Capt. Pote describe in his own words:

"At this place ye Squaws came down to ye edge of ye River, Dancing and Behaving themselves in ye most Brutish manner that is possible for humain kind, and taken us prisoners by ye arms, one Squaw on each side of a prisoner, they led us up to their Village and placed themselves In a Large Circle Round us. After they had Gat all prepared for their Dance, they made us set down in a Small Circle about 18 inches assunder and began their frolick, Dancing Round us and Striking of us in ye face with English Scalps that caused ye Blood to Issue from our mouths and noses In a very Great and plentifull manner, and Tangled their hands in our hair, and knocked our heads Together with all their Strength and Vehemence, and when they was tired of this Exercise, they would take us by [the] hair and some by ye ears, and Standing behind us, oblige us to keep our Necks strong so as to bear their weight, then Raise themselves their feet off ye Ground and their weight hanging by our hair and ears. In this manner they thumped us in ye Back and Sides, with their knees and feet, and Twitched our hair and ears to such a Degree that I am Incapable to express it, and ye others that was dancing Round if they saw any man falter and did not hold up his Neck, they Dached ye Scalps In our face with such Violence, that every man endeavored to bear them hanging by their hair in this manner, Rather than to have a Double Punishment. After they had finished their frolick that lasted about two hours and an half, we was carried to one of their camps."

Indian Humor.

Doctor Gesner relates the following story as told him in broken English by a Maliseet Indian, who was a great snuff taker :

"One time I go huntem moose ; night come dark, rain and snow come fast ; no axe for makum wigwam ; gun wet, no get um fire ; me very tired, me crawl into large hollow tree ; I find plenty room, almost begin sleep. By and by me feelum hot wind blow on my face ; me know hot bear's breath. He crawl into log too ; I take um gun, she no go ; I think me all same gone, all eat up. Then me thinkum my old snuff-box. I take some snuff and throw 'em in bear's face, and he run out ; not very much likeum, I guess. Me lay still all night, he no come again. Every little while, bear he go O-me sneezum, over and over great many times. Morning come, me fixem gun and shoot em dead : he no more sneezum, no more this time."

Indian Friendship.

Benjamin Darling,[1] who was born at Marblehead in 1730, came to the St. John river in a small sloop some years before the commencement of the Revolutionary war. He used to trade with the Indians at Oromocto and also with those on the Kennebecasis. The Indians used to encamp on Keator's Neck, [2]Nauwigewauk, where in early times they raised corn and tobacco. Benjamin Darling was probably the first English-speaking settler on the Kennebecasis, and he became very friendly with the local Indian chief, from whom he bought Darling's Island for two bushels of corn, a barrel of flour, a grindstone, some powder and shot, with sundry knives and hatchets, etc. He built a house, the upper part of which served as a store-room for the Indian trade. After his wife's death, his daughter, Hannah, became his housekeeper. She had another young girl as her companion, and the two attempted to beautify their surroundings by the cultivation of flowers; but to this the Indians objected, as they also did to any attempt to clear and cultivate the land. On a certain occasion, Benjamin Darling, the "old white chief," and the Indian chief went together to the beaver dams, leaving the house in charge of the two girls. During their absence, an Indian attempted to carry off Hannah Darling's companion. The girl offered to go with him, but after

[1]The substance of this story was told me by Mr. John Darling, of Nauwigewauk, a descendant of Benjamin Darling. W. O. R.

[2] The well-known pic-nic grounds at Nauwigewauk is on Keator's Neck.

leaving the house cleverly eluded the Indian, slipped in again at the door and fastened it. The savage made several diabolical threats, whetted his knife and seizing a club advanced to batter down the door only to find himself confronted by the plucky girl with a loaded musket in her hands. She ordered him off the premises forthwith, and the Indian after glancing at her determined face slunk away. The old Indian chief was much incensed on hearing of this incident, and a few days later brought the culprit before the young woman with his hands tied and demanded of her, "Will we kill him?" To which she replied, "No, let him go." He was set at liberty and chased out of the neighborhood and forbidden to return under penalty of death.

The heroine of this story afterwards married one Christopher Watson, and is said to have attained the remarkable age of 108 years.

THE MAROONS IN NOVA SCOTIA.

By Arthur P. Silver, Esq., Halifax Club, Halifax, N. S.

When the Jamaica Maroons, terrified by the importation of Cuban bloodhounds, laid down their arms to General Walpole in 1773, they stipulated that none of their number should be sent off the island. The Jamaica House of Assembly, disregarding the terms of surrender, transported six hundred of the chief offenders to the shores of Nova Scotia. On an eminence eastward of Halifax overlooking the blue waters of Cole harbor, a few lichen covered rocks and the pit of a huge cellar mark the spot where for four years these turbulent negroes were domiciled in barracks, under some semblance of military discipline.

The authorities of Jamaica acted under the stress of a widespread consternation and terror, into which a cruel and bloody guerilla warfare of nearly a century had plunged the whole colony, and actually threatened its loss to the empire. They considered that the settling of the future of Jamaica justified their breach of faith. Who, then, were these rebels, marked by qualities which do not usually distinguish the negro race,—courage, endurance, activity, loyalty to their own kin? qualities which Englishmen never cease to admire, even in their

foes. The nucleus of this army of marauders was composed of the freed slaves of the Spaniards, who, when they reluctantly fled from Jamaica, exacted from the negroes they left behind an oath of eternal enmity to the English usurpers. They were re-inforced from time to time by fugitives of the fierce Coromantee tribe who looked down upon all other negroes and deeply resented slavery. They fortified themselves in the mountain strongholds whence they sallied forth to kill and destroy, and almost succeeded in making of Jamaica a second St. Domingo.

To understand their long and successful resistance to formidable military expeditions, from time to time sent against them, there must be considered, besides their fierce truculent nature, the inaccessible nature of the mountain fastnesses where they held their position. The history of the recent Afridi campaign has illustrated the difficulty of inflicting punishment on warlike mountaineers carrying on a guerilla style of warfare, even by a huge and well equipped military force. The Maroons of Jamaica, sustaining life almost without an effort on the exuberant growth of tropical fruits and vegetables, jealously guarding the only two or three sources of obtaining water, went to and fro among a maze of mountain paths, deviation from which meant destruction to their pursuers. On every hand huge natural pitfalls called "cock-pits," frowning precipices, impenetrable jungle growths of thorns and twisted "lianas," or rope-like creepers, assailed the advance of the inexperienced. No wonder that imposing expeditions sent against them again and again recoiled from the terrible odds which the tropical heat and the formidable character of the volcanic rocks cast against them. Repeated ambuscades kept the invaders in constant alarm. Woe to wounded captives, for whom there awaited torture and a cruel death at the hands of their ferocious enemies. Well was it for the white population that in the subsequent terrible negro outbreak of 1765 the Maroons took part against the other negroes, from whom they claimed a proud distinction in that they had never been slaves to the English. They behaved, it is true, like tigers tasting blood after a long fast, but their fury was happily diverted from Europeans.

After three or four years of peace, matters had reached a serious climax in 1773. Two Maroons had been caught red-handed stealing hogs, and were injudiciously sentenced to be flogged. The executioner

of the sentence was one of the despised negro plantation slaves. With characteristic comradeship the whole tribe made common cause with their insulted kinsmen and organized a bloody raid. Lord Balcarres, the governor of the Island, led out a strong force against them. Then there befell the usual deadly ambuscade, and two colonels, Sandford and Gallimore, with seventy-six soldiers, fell dead at the hands of unseen foes. Other disasters occurred in quick succession, when the idea occurred of "letting loose the dogs of war" on these marauders, in the shape of Cuban bloodhounds. There is no doubt that these fierce animals could have been effectually defied in their mountain strongholds, but a weak spot had been touched in their half-civilized Ethiopian minds. With all their courage these warriors were not free from the terrors which superstition and a wild untrained imagination exercise over all the African race. The mental picture of pursuit by huge blood-thirsty mastiffs proved overwhelming. As a matter of fact these dogs were trained never to "savage" a run-away unless he resisted, but to keep guard over the fugitive until the pursuers came up. To the delight and surprise of General Walpole they sent in a white flag and sued for a treaty.

Cowed by their imagination, these fierce banditti, who had kept Jamaica in a state of terror and ferment for nearly a century, who had inflicted defeat after defeat on well-equipped forces, laid down their arms. Sir John Wentworth afterwards said of them: "They mentioned the Spanish dogs as objects of terror, from the wonderful representations of them, but admit that they had never suffered by them, or even seen them; indeed I rather think they were ashamed at having been frightened by them, and that they would now be esteemed a ridiculous scare-crow."

The transportation of some six hundred of their most warlike spirits effectually broke their power in Jamaica. The question whether this desirable end was effected by quite fair means has long since ceased to haunt any living conscience. To the credit of General Walpole it is recorded that he disdainfully refused the costly sword which the Jamaica assembly voted him in reward for his signal services in terminating the war because of their breach of faith.

The first scene in the drama of the exile of the Maroons opens with their arrival at Halifax on board the three transports, the

"Dover," the "Mary" and the "Anne."[1] It is a bright mid-summer afternoon. No sooner have the anchors splashed into the blue depths of the harbor, while the canvas begins to flap idly under the breath of the languid summer breeze, than they are visited by Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, curious to see what manner of men these are who had so long contended successfully with greatly superior forces. Drawn up in line on either side the whole length of the ships, neatly uniformed, His Royal Highness was struck with their soldier-like appearance, and instantly conceived the idea that such a fine force of men were well adapted for military service.

As their royal visitor departed amid the strains of martial music and the salute of cannon, they lustily cheered "Massa Prince," or "Massa King's Son," whose visit they doubtless deemed a happy augury for their future.

A practical outcome of Prince Edward's interest in their welfare was their immediate employment on the fortification of the citadel then in progress. The energy and good-will with which they labored won for them golden opinions, and they were regarded as a valuable acquisition to the colony. The fortification known as the Maroon Bastion still commemorates their zeal and industry. No wonder that Sir John Wentworth, governor of the province, considered that he was justified in carrying out the instruction of the Duke of Portland, secretary for the colonies, "to settle the Maroons in Nova Scotia if it could be done without injury to the colony." How he subsequently deeply regretted this course remains to be told.

The Jamaica Assembly were delighted at getting these turbulent negroes off their hands. Altogether they had voted the sum of £46,000 for their sustenance, when, withdrawing their agents and commissaries, they washed their hands of the whole business and left these black men as a white elephant on the hands of His Excellency Sir John Wentworth.

Sir John's administration was marked by a restless but often unwise energy, unrestrained by the exercise of a sound judgment. He was thus often led into contradictory courses of action, and subsequently became involved in grave complications which led to his retirement. His dealings with the Maroons illustrate the weak side of his character as an administrator.

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[1] The date was July 22nd, 1796.

In spite of the protests of the Commissary of Jamaica, Sir John insisted on settling the Maroons *in a body* on an estate within five miles from Halifax. He flattered their vanity by creating captains and majors, who strutted about with insolent swagger in all the glory of cocked hats, scarlet cloth and gold lace, profoundly conscious of their newly acquired dignity. He sent an order to England for "forty gross coat and sixty gross vest white metal buttons, strong; device — an alligator holding wheat ears and an olive branch; inscription — 'Jamaica to the Maroons, 1796.'" He asked for an annual grant of £250 to provide for them a chaplain, whose services they treated with disdain, clinging to their heathenish Coromantee ceremonies and degrading Obeah superstitions.[1] In short he succeeded in raising too flattering hopes in their excitable imaginations, and the reaction resulting from their disappointment involved him in a painful and perplexing situation.

His subsequent disgust, heightened no doubt by the fact that his salary was attached for expenses incurred in their behalf, is shown in his letters to the Colonial Secretary. "From my observation of them neither Jamaica nor any other island would be long at peace nor secure from insurrection were these people among them. In fact they do not wish to live by industry, but prefer war and hunting. One captain complains that he has not a well furnished house and cellar to exercise hospitality, instead of which he must be content with a good farm and land to cultivate. Another says neither yams, bananas, cayenne pepper or cocoa will grow on his farm. A third, that there are not any wild hogs to hunt." They wished to be sent as soldiers to the Cape of Good Hope, or India. "Give us," they said, "arms and ammunition, and put us on shore and we will take care of ourselves." That is, Sir John explains, "they would murder

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[1] This statement seems capable of modification. Rev. B. G. Gray wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1798: "The Maroons are in number 467, half of whom are Christians." He had baptized at the close of 1797 twenty-six Maroon adults and twenty-nine infants, and reports others the next year. A considerable number of Maroon children attended his school and received religious instruction at his hands. (See Murdoch's History N. S., Vol. III, p. 158.) However, they were unstable; and Sir John Wentworth complained in 1799 that some person from Jamaica had poisoned their minds, inducing them not to go to church on Sundays—giving them feasts, liquor, horse races and cock-fights on that day—telling them that the king paid every one for going to church, and that they were cheated out of this pay by Sir John and their clergyman.
W. O. R.

and plunder all the inhabitants if they could only live in the woods all the year round." He calls the Maroons "a ferocious sanguinary people, inflamed with deep malice for the injurious breach of faith they conceived to have been exercised towards them, and the distresses they suffered before their arrival from a country which they supposed they had spared from ruin."

It is a curious picture presented by that huge barrack of mountaineer banditti out of employment. To support them in comparative idleness the slender resources of the struggling colony and the treasury of the British government are taxed to the extent of £10,000 a year. The dream that they might be effectively employed as militia, in event of an attack ever anticipated from the French fleet hovering off the coasts, has evaporated. Instead of that we read of a force of troops encamped near at hand to Maroon Hall to guard against mutiny or raiding. Their chaplain reports that, in spite of his efforts, "they worship false gods." Sunday is their chosen day for horse races, cock-fights and card playing. They range the woods fishing and hunting, and become a terror to peaceful inhabitants. They practice polygamy; they bury their dead with strange rites under a cairn of rocks, where they provide the ghost with a bottle of rum, pipe and tobacco, and two days' rations for his journey to the undiscovered country beyond.

Perhaps serious trouble was only averted by the quailing of their arrogant spirit under the severities of our northern winter. When their out-of-door wanderings became restricted by huge drifts of snow, and the forest trees groaned and trembled under cutting north-easters, it is small wonder that discontent became rife, and with broken spirit they demanded of Sir John, in the language of the Israelites of old, why they had been brought into this wilderness to die. We read of the unexampled severity of the winter of 1798, when the road from Halifax to Windsor became impassable from heavy snow storms; when the Prince ordered the troops to assist the magistrates in clearing the way; and on the evening of Sunday, 20th February, thirty-five head of cattle, that had been detained on their journey (forty-five miles) for near a fortnight, reached town in an emaciated condition. The sufferings of this memorable winter led the Maroons to look forward to any change as a relief. Fortunately an opening for them occurred in the colony of Sierra Leone, of which the authori-

ties were not slow to take advantage. This African colony, under the control of a company, had a few years previously received several hundreds of freed negro slaves from Nova Scotia, who had become exceedingly troublesome and unruly, and had attempted the life of their governor. The Maroons, from their proud spirit of independence, considered themselves the born enemies of all negroes who had been slaves to the English. Hence they were a desirable element to counteract their turbulent fellows. Great was the rejoicing in Halifax as the "Asia" sailed away with her freight of black freebooters, still further deteriorated by four years of idleness and petty strife. The foolish experiment of attempting to settle them in a compact body had cost nearly £100,000. On their arrival at Sierra Leone they found congenial work ready to their hands in the suppression of an insurrection among the Nova Scotia negroes. In a parliamentary submitted report two years later they are praised for their courage and activity, and described as proud of the character of their body and fond of their independence.

Here let us leave this savage but interesting people, where, in the intervals of cutting the throats of other negroes, they can bask in the welcome rays of the fierce tropical sun, and can execute the Coromantee war dance on their native heath. Sir John Wentworth marked it as one of the happiest hours of his life, when he watched the "Asia" standing out in the offing, bearing his troublesome protégés away to distant Africa, relieving his country from the Nemesis that in some form never fails to overtake the sin of slavery, and the inevitable retribution ever following outrages on humanity, white or black.

The sportsman following his game in the autumn woods occassionally stumbles across a few rude heaps of stones which cover their dead, or the crumbling ruins of Maroon Hall, now nearly concealed by the everlasting vitality of nature. These constitute the sol memorials of the four years' sojourn in Nova Scotia of the Jamaica Maroons.

THE FIRST SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG.

By Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the New York Public Library.

In the world's historic annals, the first siege of Louisburg deserves a place in the first rank of memorable martial achievements. The greatest event of King George's war, it was also the most signal master-stroke of the provincials during the English-American colonial regime. For Louisburg, fortified at very great cost, was the richest American jewel that had ever adorned the French crown.[1] The source of an enormous annual revenue for France from the fishery, it was as well advantageously situated for the protection of Canada, and proved a constant menace to Nova Scotia and New England. The destructive power of the French aroused the New Englanders. In a short time the enemy had ruined their fishery, destroyed Canso, thrice besieged Annapolis, and crippled trade and shipping.

Louisburg was built on a neck of land jutting out into the harbor, on the south-east of the island of Cape Breton, and was secured by ramparts of stone, thirty to thirty-six feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide. On an island, in the entrance of the harbor, the Island Battery was stationed, which was garrisoned with 180 men, and defended with 30 cannon of 28-pound shot, two brass 10-inch mortars, and it had swivel guns upon its breastwork. The Grand Battery, with 28 cannon of 42-pound shot and two 18-pounders, lay direct across the entrance of the harbor. A light-house stood on a cliff opposite the Island Battery, and to the north of it was a careening place. But, withal, it was not so secure as was at first supposed. For some prisoners who had been captured at Canso in 1744, and who had spent some months at the fortress, reported, upon their return to Boston, that the garrison was mutinous, the provisions and reinforcements delayed, and portions of the ramparts defective.[2] The mortar for its masonry had been made with improper sand.[3] Such was the place against which, at a

[1] Rolt. *Impartial Representation*, vol. iv, p. 6.
[2] *Memoirs of the Principal Transactions of the Last War*, Boston, 1758.
[3] Pichon. *Genuine Letters*, p. 10.

singularly opportune time, the English colonists and the royal navy proceeded.

Various has been the ascription of the credit for suggesting this bold undertaking. But William Vaughan, of New Hampshire province, was, without doubt, one of the first to suggest it; and to Governor William Shirley, of Massachusetts Bay, must be awarded the honor of the first official act in the matter. He, with his characteristic enthusiasm, laid the plan before the legislatures of the colonies. The official body of Massachusetts, notwithstanding, and after some hesitancy, agreed to the expedition by a majority of only one vote. At least four thousand and seventy men were raised, of whom Massachusetts contributed 3,250, New Hampshire 304, and Connecticut 516.[1] Maine, then under the Bay government, raised nearly one-third of this whole army. Rhode Island, too, had equipped 300 men, who were, however, too late for active participation; and provisions from Pennsylvania did not arrive until after the capitulation.

The part borne by Maine evinces the wisdom of the choice of Colonel William Pepperrell as commander-in-chief. For in so hazardous an undertaking, volunteers could be enlisted only under the auspices of a man whom they loved and respected. Pepperrell bore an unblemished character, and was popular and resolute.[2] The day prior to his acceptance of his commission, he sought the preacher Whitefield's opinion of the expedition. His reply was not very optimistic. "For," said he, "if it pleased God to give him success, envy would endeavor to eclipse his glory."[3] However, upon entreaty, he gave to the expedition the motto *Nil desperandum, Christo duce*,[4] and preached to the men from I Samuel, chap. XXII, 2.

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[1] These are the figures usually stated, though we believe they are below the mark. The names of many of them are printed in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. XXIV, pp. 367–380, and vol. XXV, pp. 249–269; in *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Society*, Sixth Series, vol. X (Pepperrell Papers); and in Gilmore, *Roll of New Hampshire Men at Louisburg*, Concord, 1896. Gilmore says N. H. sent 502, of whom he has found 496; but Belknap, *Hist. of New Hampshire*, gave 350 men as that colony's quota, while another had suggested 354. A list of the commissioned officers, from the Registry in the British War Office, was printed by the Society of Colonial Wars. The Connecticut records are largely preserved at the State House in Hartford.

[2] There is a charming biography of him, written by Usher Parsons.

[3] Gillies. *Memoirs of Whitefield*, London, 1772, pp. 146 and 147.

[4] Nothing to despair of, if Christ be the leader.

The Massachusetts contingent sailed from the mouth of the Piscataqua in transports on March 24th, 1745, accompanied by several armed vessels. New Hampshire's quota had set out from Newcastle the previous morning. On April 4, agreeable to appointment, the fleet met at Canso, in Nova Scotia. But as the shore of Cape Breton lay environed in ice, they lingered at Canso for three weeks, until the obstruction was over. These were not idle days; for by drilling daily and capturing prizes they redeemed the time. The break in the ice occurred on April 29, and the winds and weather were propitious for a descent on the island. They, therefore, immediately set sail, and anchored in Chapeau Rouge, or Gabarus Bay, between nine and ten o'clock of the following morning, "about two miles from Flat Point Cove, where, being discovered by the enemy, a party of about 150 men was detached from Louisburg, under the command of Captain Morepang and M. Boularderie, to oppose their landing."[1] These French were met by about 100 New Englanders, and, in the engagement that took place, six were killed, several wounded and taken prisoners, and the rest put to flight; while of the English only two were slightly wounded.

Lieut.-Col. William Vaughan, at the head of a detachment of 400 men, marched on May 2nd to the north-east part of the harbor, behind a range of hills, and, burning the houses and stores of the enemy, so terrified those in the Grand or Royal Battery, which was nearly a mile off, that they spiked their guns and deserted their post the same night. "By the grace of God, and the courage of thirteen men, I entered the royal battery, about nine o'clock," was Vaughan's message to the general.[2]

Within twenty-three days after their first landing, the English erected five fascine batteries against the town. Many of the men were barefooted and ill-clad, and the nights were cold and foggy; yet against these odds they carried on their stupendous labor, dragging their cannon through a morass, in mud knee-deep. But in time many of them became diseased or fatigued, and courage gave place to murmuring. "If I were well at home, they should never

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[1] *Letter from Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle*, London, 1746, p. 4.

[2] Quoted in Belknap, *Hist. of New Hampshire* (1831), p. 277; and also printed in *Coll. of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Sixth Series, vol. x.

find me such a fool again," was the way they gave vent to their feelings.[1]

The most advanced of the five fascine batteries was 250 yards off from the west gate of the town, so near that the English could load their cannon only under the fire of French musketry. Yet, from this station and the Grand Battery, now held by the provincials, the west gate of the town was destroyed, and a breach was made in the adjoining wall. Maurepas gate was shattered; the citadel was damaged; houses were demolished, and many French were either killed or captured.

The English made an ineffectual attempt against the Island Battery on May 26. Sixty of their number were killed or drowned, and 116 were made prisoners of war.[2] Nothing daunted, however, they were determined to become masters of that station, which they effected by the erection of a battery near the light-house, completing it by June 11. Cannonaded from this point, the French were struck with terror, and many of them left the place and ran into the water for refuge.

The fleet, under Commodore Peter Warren, had blocked up the harbor, and, by despatching ships upon cruises, captured several prizes. Its most valuable capture was the "Vigilante," a French man-of-war, on May 19th, after an engagement of several hours. She was a 64-gun ship; was commanded by the Marquis de la Maisonforte; and carried a rich cargo of cannon, powder and stores for Louisburg—the whole said to have been valued at £60,000.[3] This reverse bore hard upon the French governor, Duchambon, who despatched messengers to Nova Scotia, requesting the immediate succor of the army of French and Indians, under Marin, which was besieging Fort Annapolis Royal.[4] Marin endeavored to comply with the governor's orders, but was intercepted in Tatamagouche Harbor by Capt. David Donahew's sloop and two other ships, which annihilated those plans.[5] This exploit of Donahew was very material; for had Marin arrived during the siege, he would have harassed the

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[1] *Original letter from Thomas Westbrook Waldron*, of New Hampshire, to his father, dated June 6, 1745.

[2] *Shirley to Newcastle*, p. 10.

[3] Rolt, vol. IV, p. 20. See also Drake, *French and Indian War*, pp. 209–211.

[4] *Coll. de MSS rel. à la Nouv. France*, vol. III, p. 218.

[5] *Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr.* New York, 1896, pp. 41, *ff.*

New England troops not a little, and Duchambon distinctly stated that Marin's failure to appear proved disastrous to him at a time when succor would have meant victory.

Meeting with so many reverses, and having his stock of ammunition greatly reduced, Duchambon determined to capitulate. He sent out a flag of truce on June 15th, requesting an opportunity to deliberate upon articles of capitulation. These he sent the following day, but being unsatisfactory to Pepperrell and Warren, they were rejected. They proposed other terms which the French accepted, and on June 17th Louisburg surrendered. Throughout the English-American colonies the success of the expedition was hailed with acclamation. The mother country awarded to Pepperrell the title and dignity of a baronet, and Warren was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue.

Political affairs too often lead into devious ways. The treaty of peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on October 7, 1748. It was a "hasty and ill-digested affair, determining none of the points in dispute."[1] Cape Breton, the crowning conquest of the English in America, was returned to France in exchange for Madras.[2]

THE DEFENCE OF MACKINAC IN 1814.

By Lieut.-Col. E. Cruikshank.

After the surrender of the island of Mackinac to the British forces on July 17th, 1812, the greater part of the small garrison at St. Josephs was stationed there as the most defensible position of the two. The powerful tribe of Ottawas in the immediate vicinity had taken no part in the reduction of the place. Even after it was taken they still seemed to retain a predilection in favor of the Americans. A few days after the surrender of the fort, information was received of the invasion of Canada by an American army, which rumor considerably exagger-

[1] Wynne. *British Empire in America*, vol. II, p. 5.

[2] The historic sources for the first siege of Louisburg are quite fully stated in the bibliographic data of the following works: Bourinot, *Hist. and Descr. Account of the Island of Cape Breton*, Montreal, 1892; also first printed in *Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Canada* (1891). Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. History of America*, vol. V, pp. 434, *ff.*

ated. "This," Mr. Pothier wrote, "tended greatly to damp the ardor of the other tribes, and the very men whom Capt. Roberts appointed to a village guard were those who held private councils, to which they invited the Saulteaux, for the purpose not only of abandoning the British cause, but eventually to avail themselves of the first opportunity of cutting off the fort. This being rejected by the others, they suddenly broke up their camp and returned to their villages, with the exception of a few young and old men of little or no importance."

After the lapse of a few days the principal chiefs again came to the island where nearly two hundred Indians were assembled who were preparing to go to the relief of Amherstburg, and at a special council called for the purpose they not only declared their intentions of remaining neutral, but "reproached the commanding officer with having taken them too abruptly at St. Josephs; that their eyes were then shut, but now open, and that without them he could never have got up there, pointing to the fort; and from the general conversation at that time gave [him] to understand that the future possession of the fort depended on them."

Their arguments, however had little effect upon these Indians, who went away at once under Dickson's command, but arrived too late to be present at the surrender of Detroit. That remarkable success brought the Ottawas to their knees. "The Ottawas of the L'Arbe Croche village," Captain Roberts reported, "have repented of their errors, and have in the most humble manner implored forgiveness." He was soon after reinforced by a sergeant and twenty-five men of the Royal Veterans, and authorized to enlist a company of volunteers, which was designated the Michigan Fencibles. In November, 1812, a body of mounted men from Kentucky destroyed the French Canadian village of Peoria, on the Illinois river, and Roberts determined in consequence to maintain a body of trusty Indians upon the island to resist an attack from that quarter. About the end of February, 1813, he received an urgent appeal for supplies and assistance from the British subjects residing at Prairie du Chien. They forwarded to him a similar application from Wabasha, or *La Feuille*, the principal chief of the Sioux, and an intercepted letter and talk to the Winnebagoes from the American Indian agent, Boileau, who had lately returned from Washington with several chiefs, whom he had

induced to visit the president shortly before the declaration of war. The number of Indians dependent upon Prairie du Chien for supplies was estimated at 5,000 men, and the British traders added: "We join with them to beg that you will do your possible to succour us, being persuaded that the British government is not accustomed to suffer its subjects here, to the number of about 200, to perish."

Mr. Robert Dickson had opportunely arrived bearing a commission as special agent among the western Indians, and Mackinac became his base of operations. He lost no time in proceeding to Prairie du Chien by way of Chicago and Milwaukee, returning to the island on the 9th of June with 623 warriors, having sent another body of 800 from Chicago overland to Detroit. By that time Captain Roberts had become so ill that he was obliged to apply for leave of absence, and on September 14th Captain Richard Bullock, of the 41st Regiment, assumed command. About a month later the brig Nancy, hired as a transport from the Northwest Fur Company, which had been sent to Amherstburg for supplies, returned without a cargo, with the alarming intelligence that the entire British squadron on Lake Erie had been captured, and that both Detroit and Amherstburg were in the hands of the enemy. The Nancy had been attacked by a party of American militia after passing the St. Clair rapids, and was barely preserved by the presence of mind and skill of her master, Captain Alexander McIntosh. The safety of the garrison was in fact endangered from want of food, as they had but sixty-eight pounds of salt meat, and flour enough to last one month; but by purchasing every kind of provisions within reach, Captain Bullock succeeding in collecting a supply which he supposed would maintain his men until the end of February, and by catching fish and exercising severe economy he hoped they would be able to exist until the middle of May, when the usual fleet of canoes for the supply of the fur traders might be expected to arrive from Montreal. After consulting with Mr. Dickson, who had arrived on his way to the Wisconsin country, where he intended to winter, he recommended that six gunboats should be built at Matchedash Bay for the protection of his supplies, and asked for a reinforcement of twenty artillery-men, with four field guns and 200 infantry. He also recommended the construction of a blockhouse on the heights in rear of the fort. When this was done he thought the island might be defended with the assistance of 300

Indians. An officer and twenty-seven men of the Michigan Fencibles were detached with Mr. Dickson to occupy Green Bay during the winter, and the garrison was at once put on short rations.

The Governor General of Canada, being fully impressed with the importance of maintaining possession of Mackinac, lost no time in making preparations for the relief of the garrison as soon as Lake Huron became navigable.

"Its geographical position is admirable," he wrote to Lord Bathurst. "Its influence extends and is felt amongst the Indian tribes at New Orleans and the Pacific ocean; vast tracts of country look to it for protection and supplies, and it gives security to the great trading establishments of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies, by supporting the Indians on the Mississippi, the only barrier which interposes between them and the enemy, and which if once forced (an event which lately seemed probable) their progress into the heart of these companies' settlements by the Red River is practicable, and would enable them to execute their long-formed project of monopolizing the whole fur trade into their own hands. From these observations your lordship will be enabled to judge how necessary the possession of this valuable post, situated on the outskirts of these extensive provinces, is daily becoming to their future security and protection."

Lieut.-Colonel Robert McDonall, of the Glengarry Light Infantry, an officer of experience and tried courage, was selected to command the relieving force, and went overland from Toronto to the head of the Nottawasaga river, where it was proposed to construct boats for the expedition, about the end of February, with a party of shipwrights and seamen. The remarkable mildness of the season, which rendered it probable that Lake Huron would be navigable much earlier than usual, compelled him to abandon the project of building gunboats, and his men were employed in the construction of a number of very large batteaux only. A letter from Captain Bullock reiterating his apprehensions of great distress from want of food caused him to redouble his exertions to be ready to commence his voyage at the earliest possible moment. When the ice broke up on April 19th he began the descent of the river with thirty batteaux of the largest class, four of which were armed with a carronade each, and actually sailed from its mouth on April 25th. His force consisted of eleven

men of the Royal Artillery, six officers, and 130 men of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, many of whom were expert boatmen, and a lieutenant and twenty seamen of the Royal Navy. After an extremely stormy and dangerous voyage he succeeded in reaching the island of Mackinac on May 18th, with the loss of only one boat, the crew and cargo of which were saved.

"The difficulties which were experienced in conducting open and deeply laden batteaux across so great an extent of water as Lake Huron, covered with immense fields of ice and agitated by violent gales of wind," the Governor General observed, "could only have been surmounted by the zeal, perseverance and ability of the officer commanding this expedition. For nineteen days it was nearly one continued struggle with the elements, during which the dangers, hardships and privations to which the men were exposed were sufficient to discourage the boldest amongst them, and at times threatened the destruction of the flotilla."

Mr. Dickson arrived soon afterwards with two hundred Indians from Green Bay, and every effort was at once made to strengthen the defences of the island. The Americans were showing unmistakable signs of activity in several directions. Early in February a party from Detroit surprised a British trading-post on St. Joseph's river in Illinois, where they captured Mr. Bailey, a commissariat officer from Mackinac. A few weeks later they built Fort Gratiot at the entrance of the River St. Clair, and in May Prairie du Chien was occupied by a strong force which ascended the Mississippi from St. Louis. Information of the latter event was received at Mackinac on June 21st, and next day a chief of the Winnebagoes, who came to implore assistance, related that several Indians of his own tribe, and the wife of Wabasha, the Sioux chief, who was then at Mackinac, had been killed in cold blood by the Americans after being taken prisoners. This caused an universal outcry for revenge from the Indians on the island, who demanded to be led against the enemy.

"I saw at once the imperious necessity which existed of endeavoring by every means to dislodge the American general from his new conquest and make him relinquish the immense tract of country he had seized upon in consequence, and which brought him into the very heart of that occupied by our friendly Indians," said McDonall. "There was no alternative, it must either be done or there was an

end to our connection with the Indians, for if allowed to settle themselves in place, by dint of threats, bribes, and sowing divisions among them, tribe after tribe would be gained over or subdued, and thus would be destroyed the only barrier which protects the great trading establishments of the Northwest and the Hudson's Bay Company." He accordingly decided to make an effort to re-take Prairie du Chien at the risk of weakening his own position. A company of volunteers was quickly enrolled on the island for this purpose, to whom Bombardier Kitson, of the Royal Artillery, was attached with a small field gun. The whole of the Winnebagoes and Sioux assembled at Mackinac, numbering 155 warriors, were permitted to join the expedition, which set out on the seventh day after the news was received, under the command of Major William McKay, a veteran trader. At Green Bay he was joined by another company of volunteers, which increased his white force to 120 men; and during his advance by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, the number of Indians under his control was gradually augmented to 450. The journey of more than 500 miles was performed in nineteen days, and on the 17th July McKay unexpectedly surrounded the American fort, which surrendered forty-eight hours later with its garrison of three officers and seventy-one men.

Meanwhile a much more formidable expedition was in preparation by the American Government for the recovery of Mackinac. This consisted of detachments of artillery, and the 17th, 19th and 24th regiments of United States Infantry, numbering about five hundred of all ranks, and two hundred and fifty Ohio militia, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel George Croghan, who had gained much reputation among his countrymen by his successful defence of Fort Stephenson. Major A. H. Holmes, who had lately headed a successful raid into Canada, was appointed second in command. These troops were embarked in five of the largest vessels of their Lake Erie squadron, mounting sixty heavy guns and manned by five hundred sailors and marines. They sailed from Detroit on July 3rd, but did not succeed in entering Lake Huron until the 12th, when Cotgreave's regiment of Ohio volunteers was taken on board at Fort Gratiot, increasing the land forces to 1,000 men. Their course was then shaped for Matchedash Bay, but having no pilot familiar with those waters, and being enveloped in thick fog for several days, they abandoned the attempt to

reach that place and steered for St. Josephs, where they arrived on July 20th to find that the military post on that island had been abandoned some weeks before. A schooner belonging to the Northwest Fur Company was captured, and the boats of the squadron were despatched to destroy the Company's trading station at Sault Ste. Marie. On the 26th July the American squadron appeared off the island of Mackinac. An attack had been expected for some time, and McDonall had completed the fortifications on the high ground overlooking the fort, making his possession, as he affirmed, "one of the strongest in Canada." "We are here in a very fine state of defence," he added, "the garrison and Indians in the highest spirits, and all ready for the attack of the enemy. We apprehend nothing for the island but from want of provisions."

Foul weather prevented their ships from approaching the shore for several days, but on August 1st a party of soldiers was landed on Round Island, where they had a skirmish with some Indians. After carefully reconnoitring the harbor and approaches to the fort, Croghan finally decided to follow the advice of former residents of the island, whom he had brought with him as guides, and land his troops on the western side, where there was a break in the cliffs and the ships of war could anchor within 300 yards of the shore. From this place he would be compelled to advance through the woods for nearly two miles before gaining the cleared ground, where he hoped to occupy some favorable position from which he could assail the works by "gradual and slow approaches" under cover of his artillery, which he knew was very superior in weight of metal. Upwards of a thousand men, including a body of marines, were accordingly disembarked without opposition on the morning of August 4th, and began their march through the woods.

McDonall advanced to meet them with 140 men of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment and Michigan Fencibles, leaving fifty of the latter corps to occupy his intrenchments, but taking with him nearly an equal number of Indians, chiefly Folles Avoines from Wisconsin river. With this force he occupied a very favorable position in the woods, with a small clearing in front, over which the enemy was expected to pass in their march. It might, however, be easily turned, as there were roads on either side which he had not men enough to guard.

What followed is thus described by him:

On their advance my 6-pounder and 3-pounder opened a heavy fire upon them, but not with the effect they should have had, being not well manned and for want of an artillery officer, which would have been invaluable to us, as they moved slowly and cautiously, declining to meet me on the open ground, but gradually gaining my left flank, which the Indians permitted even in the woods without firing a shot. I was even obliged to weaken my small front by detaching the Michigan Fencibles to oppose a party of the enemy which were advancing to the woods on my right. I now received accounts from Major Crawford, of the militia, that the enemy's two large ships had anchored in the rear of my left, and that troops were moving by a road in that direction towards the forts. I therefore immediately moved to place myself between them and the enemy, and took up a position effectually covering them, from whence collecting the greater part of the Indians who had retired and taking with me Major Crawford and about 50 militia I again advanced to support a party of the Follis Avoines Indians who, with their gallant chief, Thomas, had commenced a spirited attack upon the enemy, who in a short time lost their second in command and several other officers, seventeen of whom we counted dead upon the field, besides those they carried off, and a considerable number wounded. The enemy retired in the utmost haste and confusion, followed by the troops, till they found shelter under the very broadside of their ships anchored within a few yards of the shore. They re-embarked that evening and the vessels immediately hauled off."

Captain Sinclair, who commanded the American squadron, said that, "it was soon found the further the troops advanced the stronger the enemy became, and the weaker and more bewildered our force were; several of the commanding officers were picked out and killed and wounded without seeing any of them. The men were getting lost and falling into confusion, natural under such circumstances, which demanded an immediate retreat, or a total defeat and general massacre must have ensued."

They had lost three officers and fifteen men killed, one officer and fifty-six men wounded, and two missing, while McDonall had not a man hurt.

The leaders of the expedition were too much dispirited by the result to renew the attempt, but decided to blockade Nottawasaga and French rivers in the hope of cutting off all supplies and starving the garrison into a surrender. In this project they met with no better success, as both the vessels detached for that purpose were eventually surprised and captured by a small party of troops and seamen from the island.

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THE SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG IN 1758.

By Sir John Bourinot, K.C.M.G., LL. D., Lit. D. (Laval).

In 1756, what is generally known in America as "The Seven Years' War" between France and England, was publicly proclaimed. In Europe, the four powers of France, Spain, Russia and Austria combined to crush the famous representative of Protestantism, Frederick the Great, whose sole ally was England. The results were most glorious for England and humiliating for her ancient rival. Frederick's victories prepared the way for the unity of Germany; while India, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada are the heritage of a war which drove France from the eastern and western hemispheres.

The prospect, for some months after the declaration of war, was gloomy in America. This brief account of a memorable event of the Seven Years' War is chiefly condensed from my "Cape Breton and its Memorials of the French Régime," now out of print. The reader may refer to all the authorities given in that book, which also appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. IX., Sec. 2.

When that great imperial statesman, Pitt, was recalled to office in July, 1757, it was too late to prevent the humiliation of England through the incompetency of Holbourne, Loudoun and Webb, and the year closed with Montcalm triumphant on Lakes Champlain and Ontario. While the military genius of Frederick and the inspiring statesmanship of Pitt were successfully thwarting the ambitious plans of France and her allies in Europe, the English statesman, now first minister, also decided on a vigorous campaign in America. With that intuitive sagacity which he possessed for recognizing ability in others, he chose General Amherst, Admiral Boscawen, General Forbes, Lord Howe and Brigadier Wolfe, as most competent to retrieve the disaster which Loudoun and Holbourne had brought upon the English army and navy in America. He was forced, for the time being, by the strong influences around him, to retain General Abercromby at the head of one of the expeditions; but he hoped that the advice and popularity of Lord Howe would keep up the courage and

confidence of the army on Lake Champlain and prevent any serious mistakes on the part of the too slow and obtuse commander-in-chief.

The plan of the campaign, which opened in 1758, was to send three expeditions simultaneously against the three all-important positions held by the French, in the Ohio valley, on Lake Champlain, and at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. General Forbes was to march on Fort Duquesne, General Abercromby was to lay siege to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and General Amherst was to unite with Admiral Boscawen for an attack from land and sea on the fortress of Louisbourg, acknowledged to be the key to the St. Lawrence.

Whilst Louisbourg had been in the possession of the French, since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the fortifications had been strengthened, and the town was in much better condition to stand a prolonged siege than in 1745. Fourteen men-of-war, carrying nearly six hundred guns and manned by nearly three thousand men, defended the harbour in which they were anchored. The French Governor, Chevalier Drucour, had under his immediate orders a a regular force of about three thousand four hundred men, besides officers, and seven hundred militia, drafted from the inhabitants of the town and island, besides a considerable band of Indians, probably exceeding three hundred in all. The town was well supplied with provisions and military stores; the walls were defended by two hundred and eighteen cannon and seventeen mortars, with a considerable reserve of large guns for a time of need.

The English naval and military forces made their appearance off the southeastern coast of Cape Breton in the beginning of June. The fleet was composed of twenty-two ships of the line, sixteen frigates, a sloop or corvette, and two fireships; which carried in the aggregate eighteen hundred guns, and was under the orders of Honourable Edward Boscawen, Admiral of the Blue. The second in command was Sir Charles Hardy, Vice-admiral of the White. The army was made up of over twelve thousand men, including some provincial rangers, and commanded by General Amherst, who divided it into three brigades, under the orders of Brigadiers Whitmore, Lawrence and Wolfe respectively.

Although the fleet arrived off Gabarus Bay on the 2nd June, it was not until the 8th of the month that a landing was successfully effected. The artillery and stores could not be safely brought ashore

for several days later on account of the windy weather and heavy surf. As soon as the French found that the English were on land, they destroyed the Grand or Royal Battery, on the western shore of the harbour, spiked the guns in the lighthouse battery, and burned down all the storehouses and other buildings around the port. It took several weeks to land all the stores, to build blockhouses and redoubts, dig trenches, and make the investment complete. It is only possible to give a few leading details of the siege within the few pages at my command. The cannon on Wolfe's batteries at the entrance of the harbour soon silenced the island defences, and four ships were then sunk by the French at this important point with their masts fastened together by a strong iron chain. The French fleet was practically of no use to the town throughout the siege. A few were sunk, several taken by the English as they were attempting to get out to sea, and the remainder were all captured or destroyed by naval expeditions of the English. The French squadron was only redeemed from the charge of cowardice or feebleness by the signal bravery of Commander Vauquelain, who at last evaded the English men-of-war and reached France. The sorties made by the French from the town were bravely conducted, but did little or nothing to weaken the besieging force. The fire of the besiegers eventually destroyed many of the principal buildings. At last, when the fortifications were tumbling in all directions on the west front, and great gaps were visible in the important bastions, and not a dozen cannon were reported as really serviceable, the French governor decided to capitulate. The crisis had clearly come in the siege, and M. Drucour felt that it was madness to defend the ruined town and fortifications against the general assault of the British naval and military forces, which was imminent at any moment. On the morning of the twenty-seventh of July, the English took possession of the town, and the cross of St. George was hoisted on the ramparts of a fortress destined very soon to disappear from the pages of history.

England had won her first great success in the campaign commenced under the inspiration of Pitt. The news was received in England and America with many rejoicings, and the eleven stands of colors that were won at this gateway of Canada were deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral amid the roar of cannon. Thanksgivings were offered to heaven from the Puritan pulpits of New England; loyal toasts were drunk at many a festive board in New York and Philadelphia, and

even in staid old Boston—probably with smuggled rum; bells pealed from the towers and steeples, towns were illuminated from Maine to Virginia; and in the English posts of Acadia, in the camp at Lake George where Abercromby was fretting under the humiliation of defeat, wherever the tidings came, Englishmen predicted a speedy end to French power in America.

Wolfe distinguished himself and was the very soul of the enterprise:

> "Wolfe, where'er he fought,
> Put so much of his heart into his act
> That his example had a magnet's force,
> And all were swift to follow whom all loved."

The capture of Louisbourg was the prelude to a series of events which gave Canada to England. Though Abercomby was beaten at Ticonderoga, and Lord Howe met an untimely death at Lake George, Forbes drove the French from the valley of the Ohio; and Bradstreet won Fort Frontenac and gave the control of Lake Ontario to the English. St. John's, now Prince Edward Island, was occupied by a detachment of troops from Louisbourg; and the French settlements on the eastern coast of New Brunswick and in the valley of the St. John river were generally destroyed. In the following year, Amherst assumed command at Lake Champlain, and Montcalm was forced to retire to Quebec, where he met his death on the same battlefield on which "died Wolfe victorious." Quebec fell in 1759, and Montreal was surrendered by the Marquis of Vaudreuil in the following year. Canada was ceded in 1763 by France to England, who reigned supreme on the northern continent of America until that unhappy year when the old Thirteen Colonies, as a result of successful revolution, entered the community of nations as the federal republic of the United States.

VILLEBON AND FORT NASHWAAK.

By James Hannay, D.C.L.

There is a little mound of earth at the junction of the Nashwaak with the St. John, on the north side of the first named river, that for several years was the head-quarters of French power in Acadia. This was in the time of Governor Villebon, one of the most energetic

and able representatives the King of France ever had in this quarter of the world, and whose grave is here, on the shores of the St. John, but unknown and unrecognized, like that of Lady Latour, the Acadian heroine, who died here more than half a century before him. Villebon was one of the sons of Charles le Moyne, Seigneur of Longueuil, near Montreal, and therefore a native of Canada. All his brothers, like himself, were in the service of the King of France ; and all seem to have been men of courage and capacity. One of them, Menneval, was governor of Acadia in 1690, when the name of Villebon first appears in the annals of this part of New France. In that year Villebon, who was captain of a company of infantry, was sent to Port Royal to serve as an officer of the garrison there under the command of his brother, Menneval. He had with him M. Saccardi, an officer of engineers. But when he reached his destination, on the 14th June, he found neither governor nor garrison, for the place had been captured by an English expedition under Sir William Phips, in the previous month, and Menneval and most of his garrison carried away as prisoners of war. Here was a difficulty well calculated to show of what stuff Villebon was made ; for he had become at once the principal officer in Acadia, and the fate of the province rested upon him. In this emergency he took counsel with M. Perrot, a French trader, and one or two others who had escaped the English, and decided to abandon Port Royal as a military station. This was done, and such of the garrison as remained were removed to Jemseg, on the St. John river, where there was an old fort which had been occupied by the French ten or twelve years before. The Jemseg fort was a small affair, 120 feet long, by 90 wide, and mounting five light guns ; and it had been abandoned for several years. It was unfortunate that Villebon, while effecting this removal, had not taken with him the " Union," the ship in which he came out from France, for almost as soon as he left Port Royal, two English privateers hove in sight, captured the " Union " and robbed the people of Port Royal of what was left of their property. As all the presents which Villebon had brought out for the Indians and all his arms and stores were taken with the " Union," it became necessary for him to return to France to obtain a fresh supply. Before leaving, he gathered the Indians about him and exhorted them to remain faithful to the cause of France, promising them that they would be indemnified for all their losses.

Villebon went to Quebec, and from there to France, returning to the former place in July, 1691. He did not reach Acadia until late in the autumn of that year, but he brought fifty soldiers with him, a force large enough to defend his fort at Jemseg against any ordinary attack. During his absence the Indians had been at war with the English, but with little result. Although brave enough, they seldom accomplished anything substantial unless led by white men, and even then it was difficult to keep them faithful if they met with losses and reverses. For the next six years, all Villebon's energies were directed to the work of directing the Indians in their wars against the people of New England, and preventing them from making a permanent peace.

As soon as Villebon returned to his fort at Jemseg, he put himself in communication with Thury, the priest of the Penobscot tribe, and arranged for a winter attack on the English settlements. In February, 1692, York was attacked by the savages, and about seventy-five persons killed, including the venerable Mr. Dummer, the minister of the place. In the spring of the same year a band of four hundred Indians, composed of the tribes of the Penobscot and Kennebec, Micmacs, and Malicetes from the St. John, met at Penobscot to attack Wells; but their attack was repulsed by the bravery of Captain Converse, who occupied the principal garrisoned house. These attacks aroused the English of New England, and they sent an expedition, under Captain Church, an old Indian fighter of King Philip's War, to make reprisals. The main object of this expedition was the capture of St. Castin, a French officer who lived at the mouth of the Penobscot, and whose word was law with the Indians of that district; but it failed.

In 1692, Villebon removed his garrison from Jemseg to the mouth of the Nashwaak, and there began to erect a new fort on the northern bank of that river. The reason given for this change was that Jemseg was subject to inundations when the river was in flood; but a stronger reason, no doubt, was the fact that it was less easy for an English expedition to reach it, and it was nearer the villages of the Indians, on whom Villebon so largely relied for the defence of Acadia. Fort Nashwaak was built on a much larger scale than the Jemseg fort. It was 200 feet square, palisaded after the manner of all the Acadian forts of that day, and with bastions at each corner on which the guns were mounted. Outside of the line of palisades was a ditch, so that

it was safe from any attack that could be made upon it except by an enemy possessing heavy artillery.

Nashwaak thus became the headquarters of French power in Acadia, and the place from which the cruel orders went forth which ravaged the border towns of New England for several years. It would be both tedious and unprofitable to relate these atrocities in detail; so I will make but the merest reference to them in this article. They were disgraceful to human nature; yet they had the sanction and support of the French authorities in Canada, and the English who were thus attacked were not less bloodthirsty and cruel when they had the opportunity of making reprisals. It was an age of cruelty, when even the ministers of religion encouraged the shedding the blood of their enemies.

In the summer of 1694, the Indians, who were led by a French officer named Villieu, were very active in attacking the English settlements. They captured Dover, where they killed one hundred persons, and they committed depredations at Groton, Piscataqua, York, Kittery, and other places. Villieu was able to boast in his letter to the French governor that two small forts and fifty or sixty houses had been captured and burnt, and 130 English killed. The scalps of the murdered English were sent to Count Frontenac at Quebec.

Scarcely were these bloody operations ended, when a mysterious and mortal illness fell upon the Indians of the St. John river. The Chief of the river died of it, and upwards of one hundred and twenty members of the tribe, including many of the best warriors. Its ravages extended to all parts of Acadia, sweeping off the Indians by hundreds; but it was nowhere more severe than on the St. John. One of its effects was to cause the Indians to abandon their town at Meductic, and it was not re-occupied for several years. The strength of the Indians and their ability to wage war was greatly reduced by this plague; indeed, it is doubtful if they ever recovered from its effects.

In the summer of 1696, Villebon gathered together all the Acadian Indian warriors that he could muster for an expedition against Fort William Henry at Pemaquid. He was assisted by two French warships from Quebec, under d'Iberville and Bonaventure, and by all the tribes of the Penobscot and Kennebec. Fort William Henry was a new stone work which had just been erected at a cost of twenty

thousand pounds by the government of Massachusetts. It mounted fifteen cannon and had a garrison of ninety-five soldiers under Captain Chubb. It was expected to make a brave resistance, but Chubb surrendered it almost as soon as summoned, and it was demolished and blown up. This was a great triumph for the French; and it was particularly pleasing to the Indians, who had found the fort a great annoyance.

The New Englanders were aroused to active measures by the fall of Pemaquid, and Col. Church was again put in command of an expedition against the French in Acadia. He had about five hundred men, including some Indians, and they were embarked in sloops and whale boats, such vessels being the most convenient for ranging the coast. Church was rather more disposed to plunder than to attack fortified places; and his principal achievement was the sack of Chignecto, where he burnt down all the buildings, including the chapel, and killed most of the cattle. He had been ordered to attack the French fort on the St. John; but some of his men, who landed on the site of the present city of St. John, captured two French soldiers, who showed him a place on the shore where twelve cannon were buried in the sand. These he recovered, and, thinking he had done enough, Church set sail for Boston.

In the meantime the people of New England had despatched Col. Hawthorne, with 200 men in three vessels, to re-inforce Church and to supersede him. Hawthorne intercepted Church at the St. Croix, as he was going home, and turned him back to St. John. His object was the capture of Villebon's fort at Nashwaak, and it is quite possible that this might have been accomplished if the English expedition had arrived a few days earlier. But the French had been warned of Church's presence on the coast and had gathered all the Indians available for the defence of the fort. The English did not reach the fort until the 18th October, when the weather was cold and disagreeable. They landed on the south side of the Nashwaak river, opposite the fort, and at once commenced the erection of a battery on which three guns were mounted. There was a lively cannonade on that and the following day, but the French fire was the more powerful; the English guns were disabled or had to be abandoned, and on the night of the 19th, Col. Hawthorne's men took their departure, after losing twenty-five men, of whom eight were killed.

This was the last important event in which Fort Nashwaak figured. In the following year the Treaty of Ryswick ended the war between France and England, and in the autumn of 1698 Fort Nashwaak was abandoned and its garrison removed to old Fort LaTour at the mouth of the St. John.

THE EARLY POSTAL SERVICE IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

By Lt.-Col. E. Cruikshank.

Shortly before the close of the war of the American Revolution, General Haldimand, having become convinced of the necessity of securing an overland communication from Quebec to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, caused a trail or footpath to be cut through the wilderness from Kamouraska to Lake Temiscouata, and thence along the Madawaska and St. John rivers to the scattered settlements on the Bay of Fundy. In the summer of 1787, Hugh Finlay, who had been Deputy Postmaster General for Massachusetts before the revolt of that province, was sent by Lord Dorchester, who had succeeded Haldimand as Governor-General, to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, to make arrangements for the conveyance of a monthly mail to and from Halifax by this route, as the communication during the winter between Quebec and England, by way of New York, was not considered altogether safe. On October 3rd, Dorchester informed Lord Sydney that Finlay had returned and reported that he had made satisfactory arrangements with the Deputy Postmaster Generals in those provinces for the employment of "foot-messengers" carrying letters. Six mails a year, it was estimated, would pay the expense of the overland route, and as each province advocated the advantages of its own port, he suggested that the mails from England should be sent alternately to Halifax and St. John, until experience should demonstrate which of these ports should be selected as the best. He advised, however, that the New York route should be also used until passable roads for horse-travel could be cut through the woods, and, "to prevent disagreements," recommended that the post-offices should be placed under control of a single official to be known as the Deputy

Postmaster General in British North America. On account of his previous experience in a similar situation, he nominated Finlay as a suitable person for this place. About a month later (Nov. 8, 1787), Finlay was duly appointed; and Sydney informed the Governor-General that a monthly mail service had been actually established between London and Halifax. All expenses were to be under control of agents of the post-office who were to be solely responsible for their safe delivery.

When the war with France began six years later, the number of hostile cruisers rendered it unsafe for the packets to follow their customary route to New York, and they were sent direct to Halifax in winter as well as summer, and it is stated, "made their passages with great ease, performing them in a much shorter time than they had previously done in the same months to New York."[1] This arrangement continued for about two years, after which the British navy had so effectually secured the mastery of the Atlantic that it was considered expedient to re-establish the New York service.

Packets were occasionally taken by the enemy's ships of war, or were lost at sea. Others were driven out of their course by gales or buffeted by contrary winds for weeks and sometimes for months. The transmission of even the most important despatches was at all times precarious and uncertain. A letter from Lord Dorchester to Hon. Henry Dundas, written at Quebec on March 28th, 1794, was received on June 10th, while another dated June 7th was not received until September 20th. His despatches to the Duke of Portland, dated 1st January, 1795, was not received until April 20th; while another of April 25th was received on June 25th; and a third, dated 26th October, was not received until December 7th. Simcoe's despatch of 5th August, 1794, to Mr. Dundas, was received on October 17th; another, of August 13th, was received on December 13th; and a third, written on September 12th, was received on December 23rd; while his letter of October 30th, 1794, to the Duke of Portland, was not received until May 1st, 1795, or 182 days afterwards.

On April 5th, 1800, Finlay was succeeded by George Heriot, who is now best remembered as the author of a quarto volume of travels in Canada published seven years later. The postal service seems to have been gradually extended and improved by him, but not rapidly

[1] See George Provost to Lord Bathurst, 12th August, 1813.

enough to meet the wishes of certain influential colonial merchants; and on January 26th, 1811, a memorial was addressed to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade, reciting their grievances in this respect, signed by Simon McGillivray, A. Gillespie, William Hamilton, Charles Idle & Co., Thomas Forsyth, John Inglis, John Bainbridge, and seven others. They complained that an average period of three weeks was consumed in the conveyance of each mail between Quebec and Halifax, although the journey had been accomplished by other courses in six days, and that three weeks were likewise occupied in conveying it between Quebec and York, when this too might be done in six days. The consequence was that any person receiving important news could easily out-travel the mail and "thus derive the most important and unfair advantages in every branch of trade. North American merchants, particularly in the interior, do not forward one-tenth of their letters by the post-office, preferring to take advantage of private and casual opportunities owing to the great delay of the mails." They suggested that a surveyor should be sent to examine the country and ascertain the best routes to be followed.

Heriot remarked that to make the journey between Quebec and Halifax in only six days was "a very extraordinary and rapid march, as the distance is 633 miles, during 368 of which neither horses nor carriages are to be found, and the road can be only travelled in daytime in safety owing to rapids in the river which it would be dangerous to pass even by moonlight; although a man may go much quicker from Quebec to Halifax than the other way, as he descends in that case the St. John, a very rapid river, and in the other has to ascend it in a birch canoe, much of the way by poling." On April 23rd of the same year, he made to Francis Freeling a general report on the entire postal service of the provinces.

"The mail is carried from New Brunswick to Quebec and *vice versa* by two couriers, one setting out from Quebec and the other from Fredericton once a fortnight in summer and once a month in winter. The distance is 361 miles; the cost of conveying the mails, £240. There is one courier once a week between Fredericton and St. John, N. B., eighty-two miles, at a cost of £91 5s. There are two packets weekly across the Bay of Fundy, between St. John and Digby, N. S., thirty-six and a-half miles, at £350. There is one courier twice a week between Digby and Annapolis, twenty miles, at £50, and one

courier between Annapolis and Halifax once a week, 133½ miles at £260. A courier leaves Montreal on Monday evening for Swanton, Vt., where he waits for the United States mail and returns on Saturday night with the latest mail from Boston. (The mails from England usually come by this route.) He has a salary of £156 per annum. From the commencement of the present year a communication by post has been opened from Montreal to Kingston. The distance is two hundred miles. The courier goes once a fortnight and has a salary of £100. The reason he can do it so cheap is because he carries the newspapers on which he has his own profit. A post to York is proposed for six months, or during the close of navigation. The water-communication is so frequent during the summer as to render a post unnecessary. The expense will be about £80. The post between Quebec and Montreal is despatched twice a week from each of those towns. Couriers leave the offices on Monday evening at five o'clock and arrive on Wednesday following. They set out again on Thursday evening and arrive on Saturday morning. Between those places there are three post-towns—Three Rivers, ninety miles from Quebec and the same distance from Montreal; Berthier, forty-five miles from Three Rivers and the same from Montreal, and L'Assomption, twenty-two miles from Montreal. Eight pence is charged for postage on a single letter from Quebec to Montreal. The expense for the conveyance of the mail for twelve months is £604 stg. On the 5th April, 1800, I took charge of the Post-office department in the British provinces of North America. The net revenue for twelve months from that date was £884, and for the last twelve months it was £2,514 sterling. There are on the road between Quebec and Montreal about twenty-seven persons whose houses are seven or eight miles distant from each other and who keep four or five horses each, not of the best description, and small vehicles with two wheels of a homely and rude construction, hung upon bands of leather or thongs of unmanufactured bull's hide by way of springs, and these are termed *calêches*. They will with much difficulty contain two persons, in front of whom a man or boy is placed to guide the horse. The rate at which they go when the roads are favorable is not more than six miles an hour. Considerable time is wasted by changing vehicles, and travellers are sometimes obliged to wait half an hour, so that fourteen hours might be lost in this way alone. The legal fare is a shilling a league for a

single person if he has one horse, and eighteen pence if he has two. There are no inns on the road. A person travelling should bring with him his own provisions and liquors. There are no less than six ferries to be passed on the road to Montreal. That at Three Rivers is three miles and that at Montreal three-quarters of a mile across. The roads are generally in a very bad state, as no proper measures are taken for their repair. There are officers called *Grand Voyers*, whose duty is to enforce the existing laws for the repair of the roads, but they neglect it owing to the smallness of their salaries. Any extension of the post or increase of speed," he affirmed, "must be attended with great expense."

Nearly a year later (15th March, 1812,) Sir George Prevost was able to state that Mr. Heriot had made arrangements for the transmission of the mails between Quebec and Halifax, designed to remove all reasonable grounds for complaint; but to carry them into effect it would be necessary to open a road through the "unsettled country between this place (Quebec) and Fredericton, and that encouragement should be held out to persons to settle on it. The necessity of a ready and sure communication becomes every day more obvious owing to the state of American politics." It was his opinion that the mails would reach Quebec in winter as soon if forwarded by way of Bermuda and Halifax as by way of New York, and he recommended that they should be sent by that route in future "to obviate the risk they are exposed to in passing through American territory."

The establishment of a line of steamboats between Quebec and Montreal had diminished travel by land and rendered the necessity of improving the road between those towns less obvious if not less urgent. Prevost asserted that the mails on that route were carried as rapidly and regularly as could be expected, and that the extension of the service "to Kingston, York, and posts more in the interior had been placed on a footing which will materially promote the intercourse between the Provinces."

The ocean packet service seems to have been greatly improved. Despatches from Quebec were frequently delivered in London in five or six weeks. Prevost's despatch, dated at Montreal on 22nd October, 1812, was in the hands of Lord Bathurst on November 26th. But in time of war it still remained precarious, as in the vessels employed the means of defence were sacrificed in the effort to secure speed.

"I have received an account of the May and June packets from Falmouth to Halifax having been taken, one by the 'President' and the other by an American privateer but afterward recaptured by the 'Maidstone' and sent into Halifax; both mails were sunk before the vessels were taken," Sir George Prevost wrote on 12th August, 1813. "Several months must elapse before I can receive copies of the despatches lost. The duplicates of the May despatches being lost in the June packet, I have received no communication of importance since your despatch of the 12th of May last. I cannot now expect to receive them till January or February next. The great injury arising to the public service from the want of a more frequent and regular communication with your Lordship, during the winter months, induces me most strongly to urge the expediency of sending the packets direct to Halifax during November, December, January and February, instead of sending them to Bermuda. I have every reason to think, from every information I have obtained upon the subject, that the passage during the winter will be equally safe and expeditious as to Bermuda." . . . . . .

"Should this plan be again adopted, I shall receive your Lordship's despatches several weeks sooner, and can reply every month."

THE NEW ENGLAND MOVEMENT TO NOVA SCOTIA.

By W. F. Ganong, Ph.D.

In the Maritime Provinces of Canada there are living to-day not far from a million people. They are derived from five distinct sources. There are, first, a few thousand Indians, once owners of all the land where now they exist by sufferance of their conquerors. Second, there are the Acadians, more than an eighth of the population, best known to the world through the sufferings they endured under ruthless political necessity. Third, there are the English and New Englanders, concerning whom something is to be said below, who gave us perhaps a sixth of our population. Next are the Loyalists, our greatest and most valuable accession, from whom more than a half of our people are descended. Finally, there are the later immigrants, mostly from Great Britain and Ireland, who have not yet had time to make history, but who will be heard from in the future.

Between 1760 and 1770 there was a large immigration from the American colonies, principally from New England, into Nova Scotia, then including New Brunswick, which proved of immense value to the province. The causes leading to this remarkable movement are well known. The expulsion of the Acadians, in 1755, left their rich lands vacant and the province nearly without inhabitants, except for the settlements at Halifax and Annapolis. But a country without inhabitants is a valueless possession, for the only true wealth of a nation consists in industrious, law-abiding and patriotic citizens. Governor Lawrence, with great foresight, resolved to seek settlers among the people who had proven themselves the greatest of colonizers,— the people of the American colonies. Accordingly, in 1758, he spread broadcast through these colonies copies of a proclamation in which he called attention to the richness of the vacant lands, and invited proposals for their settlement. This proclamation did not, however, contain information upon matters which the New Englanders held dearest of all, namely, political and religious liberty. Accordingly, in 1759, Governor Lawrence issued a second proclamation, of which Nova Scotians have long been justly proud; for its promises of religious toleration and political freedom have since been more than fulfilled. This document,[1] sometimes likened to a charter of the province, contains full information upon the size and conditions of grants and other practical matters, and these passages:

"The Government of Nova Scotia is constituted like those of the neighboring colonies; the Legislature consisting of a Governor, Council, and House of Assembly, and every township, as soon as it shall consist of fifty families, will be entitled to send two Representatives to the General Assembly. The Courts of Justice are also constituted in like manner with those of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other Northern Colonies. That, as to the article of religion, full liberty of Conscience, both of his Majesty's royal instructions and a late act of the General Assembly of this Province, is secured to persons of all persuasions, Papists excepted, as may more fully appear by the following abstract of the said act, viz.:

'Protestants dissenting from the Church of England, whether they be Calvinists, Lutherans, Quakers, or under what denomination soever, shall have free liberty of conscience, and may erect and build meeting houses for public worship, and may choose and elect ministers for the carrying on divine service, and administration of the sacrament, according to their several opinions; and all contracts made between their ministers and congregations for the

[1] It is given in full in Huling's "Rhode Island Emigration to Nova Scotia," (Providence, R. I., 1889).

support of their ministry, are hereby declared valid, and shall have their full force and effect according to the tenor and conditions thereof; and all such Dissenters shall be excused from any rates or taxes to be made or levied for the support of the Established Church of England.'"

Convinced by these assurances, and attracted by the liberality of the conditions as to land-grants, settlers from New England began to arrive in 1760, and came in large numbers during the next few years. As one reads of the many who so willingly left the comforts of the older settlements for the hardships of pioneer life, he wonders what could have induced so remarkable a migration. But we have only to recall the race to which they belonged, its ever-present joy in adventure and ambition for progress, to have at least a part of the explanation. A great war had been practically ended with the fall of Quebec, and that fever of expansion and speculation which always follows successful wars had set in. At that time, farm life was relatively far more attractive than it is to-day, and the vision of a rich country estate beckoned men from afar — as the glitter of gold draws them to the Klondike to-day. No doubt, too, rich as the Nova Scotian lands really were, their value was greatly exaggerated in the minds of the New Englanders; for such is human nature. The destruction of French power in North America had just made Acadia for the first time a safe residence for New England farmers. All these reasons, with doubtless others, combined to start the stream of New Englanders towards Nova Scotia.

If the reader will open before him a good map of the Maritime Provinces he can the better learn what parts of Nova Scotia received the new settlers. The first to come were from Newport, Rhode Island, and they settled on the rich diked lands of Falmouth and Newport, near the modern Windsor. A little later, others from the same colony took uplands on the Tantramar, and founded Sackville, in what is now New Brunswick. Rhode Island sent the first settlers, but other colonies soon followed; and New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and, later, Pennsylvania, all sent considerable numbers during the next few years, who took up lands at Cornwallis, Horton, Annapolis, Granville, Liverpool, Onslow, Truro and Amherst, in Nova Scotia, and at Maugerville and on the west side of the Petitcodiac, in New Brunswick. In all of these cases, except Liverpool and Maugerville, it was the abandoned marsh lands of the Acadians which were occupied. But the New Englanders did not confine themselves to

these places, for they settled in considerable numbers in Halifax, Chester, Barrington, Yarmouth, and scattered to numerous other places. In 1762, some 5,000 of these new settlers had reached Nova Scotia, and by 1767 some 2,000 more, at which time over half of the total population of Nova Scotia consisted of New Englanders. They continued to arrive, though in lesser numbers, for some years longer, and although in the meantime there was considerable immigration from England and Scotland, the breaking out of the American Revolution found nearly half the population of Nova Scotia of New England origin.

The distribution of the settlements founded by the New Englanders shows that by far the greater number settled in what is now Nova Scotia. New Brunswick received but a few hundreds, probably not a thousand in all, who settled at Maugerville, and on the Petitcodiac and at a few other points. Prince Edward Island received not over a hundred or two in all. Hence it was that, at the close of the Revolution, New Brunswick had a much greater extent of vacant lands to offer to the Loyalists than had Nova Scotia. Therefore the Loyalists came in greater numbers to New Brunswick, and made it "The Loyalist Province." But the Loyalists were not only like the New Englanders who preceded them in race, customs and character—they were really the same people. Hence it is that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, though with very different proportions of New Englanders and Loyalists in their populations, have developed alike.

We have seen that nearly half the population of Nova Scotia were New Englanders when the American Revolution broke out. Naturally these people were bound by the closest ties of kinship and sympathy to the revolting colonists, and it is little wonder that during the progress of the Revolution this sympathy was sometimes manifest. That it did not lead to more trouble than it did speaks highly for the good management of the British authorities on the one hand; and on the other it testifies to the rapidity with which men become attached and loyal to the country in which they live. In only one locality did the New Englanders of Nova Scotia take up arms for the Colonists. A party from Maugerville, aided by their fellow-countrymen of Sackville and Amherst, attempted, in 1776, to capture Fort Cumberland. But they were dispersed, and many of them returned to live in the United States. But from that day to this, England has had no more loyal, progressive, and serviceable subjects than these Nova Scotian New Englanders.

GENERAL CAMPBELL'S MUSTER.

By Rev. W. O. Raymond, M.A.

In the Canadian Archives for the year 1884, published at Ottawa, there appeared for the first time in print, an exceedingly interesting report on Nova Scotia, by Lieut.-Col. Robert Morse, of the Royal Engineers. The report was compiled in 1784, by order of Sir Guy Carleton, as we learn from its rather elaborate title:

"A General Description of the Province of Nova Scotia, and a Report of the present State of the Defences, with Observations leading to the further Growth and Security of this Colony, done by Lieutenant Colonel Morse, Chief Engineer in America, upon a Tour of the Province in the Autumn of the year 1783 and the Summer, 1784, under the Orders and Instructions of His Excellency, Sir Guy Carleton, General and Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, given at Head Quarters at New York the 28th Day of July, 1783."

In his report, Col. Morse estimated the number of inhabitants in Nova Scotia (including New Brunswick) at 42,747. Probably this estimate is too small, for it takes no account of the native Indians and reckons the number of Acadian families at only one hundred, which undoubtedly is a long way under the mark. Colonel Morse, however, claimed to be able to give with precision the number of new inhabitants, viz.: the disbanded troops and Loyalists, the whole having been mustered in the summer of 1784, in order to ascertain the number entitled to the Royal bounty of provisions. In his report he includes an abstract of the number of the new inhabitants, compiled from the returns of the muster-masters, and the publication of these figures, in connection with his report, in the Canadian Archives for 1884, has led several of our local historians to designate the muster as "Morse's Muster."[1] This is an error to be regretted and one that should not be perpetuated. Colonel Morse himself says nothing in his report to lead to the inference that the muster was made under his direction;

[1] Among those who have inadvertently fallen into this error may be mentioned the compiler of the Canadian Archives, who in the Volume for 1894, p. 412, speaks of "The Muster by Morse in the summer of 1784." Henry Youle Hind makes the same mistake in his History of King's College, Windsor, p. 13. I have myself in several newspaper articles help to propagate the error.—W. O. R.

indeed, a moment's consideration should satisfy anybody that a muster of this kind lay entirely outside the sphere of duty of an officer of Engineers, and could only be undertaken by order of the General commanding and under direction of officers customarily employed on such occasions.

I have in the title of this paper termed the muster of 1784, General Campbell's Muster, for the simple reason that it was made by his order. If credit is to be given to any subordinate officer, that credit undoubtedly belongs to Colonel Edward Winslow, and on the principle of giving honor to whom honor is due it could scarcely be considered as incorrect to speak of the muster as "Winslow's Muster." A few words will suffice to show how Edward Winslow came to be the guiding spirit in the matter.

When the Revolution broke out in America, he was in the prime of life, energetic, talented and popular. However, he was an ardent Loyalist, and his conduct in acting as guide to the relieving party under Lord Percy at Lexington, gained for him the enmity of many of his former friends. The service rendered, however, was an essential one, saving the British expedition from capture or annihilation. This circumstance the enemies of Edward Winslow neither forgot nor forgave. At the evacuation of Boston there was for him no alternative but to accompany the British army. Winslow was too high-spirited to have remained even if he could have done so with safety. On his arrival at New York he became one of the most active and influential organizers of corps of armed Loyalists, many of which served with distinction side by side with the king's troops and were called "Provincial troops," or "British American regiments." During the progress of the war more than forty distinct corps were organized by the Loyalists, and in these there served, at various times and for longer or shorter periods, from 25,000 to 30,000 men.[1] Edward Winslow was appointed General Muster-Master of the Loyalist regiments,[2] and in that capacity was called upon to muster them once in two months. In the exercise of this duty he became very closely identified with them and had

[1] This estimate is based upon the Muster Rolls of the Loyalist Regiments which at the time of writing are in my possession.

[2] Edward Winslow's appointment to this office was thus gazetted :

"Head Quarters, New York, 30th July, 1776.

Edward Winslow Esq., to be Muster-Master General to the Provincial Troops taken into His Majesty's pay within the colonies lying in the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to Florida inclusive. STEPHEN KEMBLE, *Deputy Adjutant General.*"

perhaps a better general knowledge of them than any other single individual.

At the close of the war Winslow was sent by Sir Guy Carleton to Nova Scotia to assist in making arrangements necessary for the disbanding of such of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men as desired to settle there. He made an exploring tour of the River St. John and largely on his recommendation it was decided to fix the location of the Loyalist regiments in that quarter. He was soon after attached to the staff of Brigadier-General Henry E. Fox,[1] the Commander-in-chief in Nova Scotia, as his Private Secretary, and afterwards filled the same position with his successor, Major General John Campbell. General Campbell[2] arrived at Halifax from New York on December 9, 1783.

We come now to consider the circumstances which rendered it advisable to hold a general muster of the disbanded troops and Loyalists at the various places where they had settled upon their arrival in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Early in the year 1784, it had become evident to the commissariat officers that considerable abuses existed with regard to the distribution of the provisions ordered by government for the relief of the new settlers. The complaints that abounded were of various descriptions. In some cases settlers complained of having been overlooked or neglected. In a few instances they were said to have been defrauded by their agents. In others it was asserted that certain officers drew rations for nominal servants *ad libitum*. In others, that rations were drawn for families expected from the United States that had not yet arrived. In others, that rations continued to be drawn for individuals who had abandoned the settlements where they had been located.

In order to ascertain the exact condition of the various settlements, a general muster was ordered by Major General Campbell in May, 1784. The details were planned by Colonel Winslow, who seems also to have nominated the muster-masters who were appointed by

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[1] General Fox was the brother of the celebrated statesman, Charles James Fox ; he was offered the position of first Governor of New Brunswick, but declined, and the appointment went to Col. Thomas Carleton.

[2] Major General Campbell's Regiment, the 57th, came to Nova Scotia at the same time as himself, and was in garrison at Halifax and Annapolis.

General Campbell. The names of the muster-masters and their respective districts were as follows:

1. William Shaw, Esq., Provost Marshal to the Forces in Nova Scotia. District—The settlements on the coast from Halifax eastward as far as Chedabucto.

2. William Porter, Esq., Commissary of Musters. District—The settlements on the coast from Halifax westward to Port Matoon.

3. Lieut. Charles Stewart, late Nova Scotia Volunteers. District—The Island of St. John[1] in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the settlements on the coast from Pictou southward to Chedabucto.

4. Capt. George Stewart, 33rd Regiment. District—The settlements on the road from Halifax to Windsor, at Windsor, Newport, Kentecook, Falmouth, Horton, Cornwallis, the settlements about Cumberland and the country adjacent.

5. John Robinson, Lieut. Loyal American Regiment. District—Annapolis, Wilmot, Granville, Digby, the settlements on St. Mary's Bay and the country adjacent.

6. Thomas Knox, Esq., Deputy Commissary of Musters. District—Passamaquoddy, the River Saint John and Quaco.

The officers appointed were furnished with instructions issued by Major General Campbell, who is styled "Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces on the eastern coast of the Atlantic Ocean, etc., etc." The instructions directed "that fair Rolls be prepared of each Corps or class, specifying the names, sex, age and description of every individual contained therein, and the said Rolls are to be certified by two at least of the officers or principal men of the corps or class thus mustered." It was further explained that the Royal Bounty was intended as a relief to indigence and as a spur to industry, and the muster-masters were enjoined to exercise due care that such as were in situations to support themselves by trade or professions, as well as those who were dissolute and indolent should not partake of it. The Imperial Government had promised provisions to disbanded officers and soldiers who should become settlers in Nova Scotia, but those who did not comply with the intention of Government by becoming settlers *on the lands assigned them* were not to be considered as entitled to the bounty. The muster-masters were particularly directed to enquire if those applying for provisions were actually settled on the lands assigned them or were making preparations for that purpose.

During the summer the returns kept coming in to Colonel Winslow,

[1] Prince Edward Island.

and were tabulated under his supervision. Several of the original returns with copies of much of the correspondence are now in my possession and are of great interest. The general result as regards the number of those mustered will be seen in the following table:

General Return of all the Disbanded Troops and other Loyalists who have lately become settlers in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, made up from the Rolls taken by the several Muster-masters. Halifax, 4th November, 1784.

WHERE SETTLING.	Men.	Women.	CHILDREN.		Servants.	Totals.
			Above Ten.	Under Ten.		
Halifax Harbour	27	15	..	6	..	48
Dartmouth	175	104	68	92	41	480
Musquadobbin	10	4	..	2	..	16
Jeddore	7	5	8	6	..	26
Ship Harbour	77	25	28	19	2	151
Sheet Harbour	71	21	7	18	5	122
Country Harbour	201	26	7	14	41	289
Chedebucto	580	204	68	139	62	1053
Island of Saint John	202	60	27	65	26	380
Antigonish	76	12	8	6	18	120
Pictou and Merrigonish	192	65	27	40	..	324
District of Cumberland	257	160	186	232	21	856
Partridge Island, N. S.	38	26	31	24	69	188
Cornwallis and Horton	91	37	44	27	38	237
Newport and Kentecoot	150	60	28	47	22	307
Windsor	127	49	23	58	21	278
Windsor Road and Sackville	52	26	23	26	3	130
Annapolis, Granville, Wilmot and Clements	608	349	325	318	230	1830
Bear River	71	18	3	14	9	115
Digby	483	240	216	204	152	1295
Gulliver's Hole, St. Mary's Bay and Sissiboo	53	26	50	31	13	173
Nine Mile River	38	17	6	6	5	72
Chester Road	16	6	1	4	1	28
At Halifax (Objects of charity)	90	39	46	29	4	208
Between Halifax and Shelburne	326	146	51	120	8	651
Shelburne	3401	1823	1420	1279	..	7923
Passamaquoddy	833	304	340	310	..	1787
River St. John	4130	1619	1630	1439	441	9260
Total,	12,383	5,486	4,671	4,575	1,232	28,347

The names of nearly all the localities mentioned in the foregoing table have persisted to the present time. The Loyalist settlement on Chedabucto Bay soon after took the name of Guysborough, and in the course of time Sissiboo was altered to Weymouth.

A number of observations upon the state of the infant settlements named in this table were submitted by the muster-masters which are of great interest and will afford material for another paper, in which I shall take occasion also to discuss the question of the number of Loyalists who came to the Maritime Provinces, concerning which there has been some difference of opinion.

THE ACADIAN LAND IN LOUISIANA.[1]

It is only within the past year that my attention has been particularly called to a wonderland situated within the confines of my own State, although in a vague way I have always known something about it. It is the land of the departed Acadians of whom Longfellow sang. These sorrowful pilgrims soon found the place of their exile a land of balmy air, bright sunlight, abundance, comfort and peace. As the shades of evening fell myriads of wild ducks from the Gulf marshes, seeking their evening meal on the broad savannas, furnished an epicurean feast. The lakes, bayous and bays teemed with the finest fish in the world — pomp, sheephead, trout, red-snapper and Spanish mackerel, oysters superior to any that Baltimore can furnish. Droves of red-deer skimmed the plain or slept secure in the tall grass. Flocks and herds multiplied wonderfully in a climate where the air was cooled by the invigorating sea breezes, and there was grass to eat winter and summer, where the whole country was one broad, level meadow, so level that you could see your neighbor's children playing before the door five miles away. In the black loamy soil vegetables grew almost without cultivation in the greatest profusion. Oranges could be plucked from the trees even in December. An acre or two barely scratched over and sown in rice furnished the favorite food for a large family. No cultivation was necessary.

[1] The editor of the LEAFLETS is indebted to a gentleman in Shreveport, Louisiana, Capt. Geo. E. Thatcher, for the following description of the land of the Acadians in the South, and the industrial development that has recently taken place there.

Such was the new home of the exiled Acadians; here they grew and multiplied for generations, till their home in the far away cold North was forgotten. Their herds, the fish and the wild game, and rice, furnished them a living. Skins and pelts bought ammunition and clothing; so long as the roof did not leak they slept comfortably. Why should they work? Well, they did not work. They just lived, ate, drank, frolicked, married, got children and died, and the begotten reigned in their stead. And this land, the fairest that ever the sun shone on, remained undeveloped, a broad waste of hundreds of thousands of beautiful meadows supporting a sparse population of idle, thriftless, happy-go-lucky beings, who had no more conception of the meaning of the word progress than they had of Cordan's rule for Cubics.

But such a state of things could not last forever. There was only needed the man and the occasion to effect a revolution. The Acadian had depended upon Providence rice.[1] Now it occurred to a shrewd son of the Hoosier State, who had drifted to this country, to be a kind of Providence to himself; so finding an old engine and pump for sale cheap, he bought it, set it up on the bank of a bayou that bordered his little place of one hundred acres, and pumped water on his rice in July and August. The yield was enormous, as much as 1500 bags, worth $3.25 a bag. This was the occasion, and the needed man was there taking notes. A revolution in the industrial affairs of this southern Acadia was impending. Give it water and it would average from eight to twelve bags of rice per acre, worth from three to four dollars per bag.

* * * * * * *

I know of no section of the South so unique in its attractions, of such peculiar and unusual natural beauty. The broad expanse of perfectly level meadow, here and there intersected by streams bordered by a fringe of evergreen trees, fanned by balmy breezes,—where cattle live and thrive the year around, where peaches, apricots, oranges and figs will grow for any one who will merely set out the trees, where the rewards of agriculture almost surpass belief, and fill the mind with astonishment.

[1] Providence rice—so called because if Providence sent rain the Acadian farmer made a crop, if Providence did not send rain he did not make a crop.

COMMENTS.

Greenwood (B. C.) *Miner*, R. E. Gosnell, Editor: G. U. Hay, M.A., Editor of the *Educational Review*, St. John, N. B., a gentleman well-known to all New Brunswickers, is issuing a series of historical studies on Canada. These appear quarterly, and have reached No. Seven in the series. A number of well-known Canadians are contributing, and when completed the series will contain a vast amount of reminiscence concerning the early days of the country now included in the Dominion of Canada.

Halifax *Chronicle:* The history of Nova Scotia need not make dry reading if the chief incidents are well handled. In the Septemberissue of the EDUCATIONAL REVIEW SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS, Mr. Arthur P. Silver, of this city, gives a most interesting account of "The Maroons in Nova Scotia." The closing years of the eighteenth century saw these fierce Jamaican rebels landed at Halifax, and the failure of the experiment, as well as the underlying causes thereof, it has been Mr. Silver's good fortune to set forth most entertainingly. The article is calculated to arouse considerable interest and to lead to some speculation regarding the wisdom and farsightedness of men in authority in the "good old days."

Montreal *Gazette:* What we said some time ago of the Old South Leaflets as affecting United States readers, is especially applicable to this experiment of Mr. Hay's, as affecting students of our own annals. At a nominal cost (ten cents a number) one is favored with a veritable treasury of tid-bits by our foremost historians, dealing authoritatively with what is most noteworthy in the records of the old regime and the new.

Kingston *Whig:* A great deal of information, valuable in an educational way and for storing in the literary archives of Canada, is being produced by this series. Canada requires national spirit and historical pride, such as is being coaxed into life.

St. John *Telegraph:* Mr. G. U. Hay is doing good work by the issue of these supplementary readings, and we congratulate him on their success. * * * The series may now be considered to be well established, and the youth of the Maritime Provinces are to be congratulated on the manner in which history is now being taught through this magazine and similar publications.

Montreal *Herald:* The series has been planned with the special object of giving interesting sketches on a variety of topics connected with our country's history. The result cannot fail to be of great benefit to the students of Canadian history.

St. Andrews *Beacon:* All these gentlemen (the writers for the leaflets) are well qualified by study and experience to write not only intelligibly, but truthfully, upon the subjects they have chosen. The historical accuracy of their contributions may, therefore, be relied upon.

St. John *Sun:* The whole publication is not only useful for the purpose designed, but contains historical studies of great general value. * * * Love of country is everywhere held to be a virtue in a people, and love of country should be grounded in a knowledge of our country's history.

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Halifax *Presbyterian Witness:* These papers ought to be placed in the hands of senior pupils in our schools in order to accustom them to the pleasing exercises of looking into the sources of history, and the study of events as narrated at first hand.

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S. E. DAWSON, LL. D., Ottawa: It seems to me to be a most promising idea.

Quebec *Mercury:* Number Six is a very interesting issue of a publication which increases in value.

Halifax *Herald:* These papers have enough in them to interest intelligent pupils, to teach them something of the sources of history and about authorities, and to awaken the spirit of research. That is something like a revolutionary advance, compared with history as it has usually been taught in schools. These readings should be in the hands of all pupils of the two advanced grades in all our public schools, and of some classes at the academies; and if such were the case the sale would be very large and the public benefit great.

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EXPLORERS OF CANADA.

By Benjamin Sulte, F.R.S.C., Ottawa.

"The New Fonde Londe quhar men goeth a-fisching" was seen first by John Cabot in 1497, according to written documents of that date, but the fishing grounds may have been known and utilized by the Basques[1] a good while before then. The merit of Cabot consists in the divulgation of his own discovery, whilst the Basques would keep it secret for themselves. The tablet placed June, 1897, at the entrance of the legislative building at Halifax describes the fact in the following terms: "John Cabot first planted the flags of England and Venice on the 24th June, 1497, on the northeastern seaboard of North America." This cannot be denied; nevertheless it cannot be called the discovery of Canada. We all agree that it was the first step towards the effective attempts of subsequent navigators. The committee who placed the tablet avoided misunderstandings by the expression "north eastern seaboard of North America," because the precise locality is a point in dispute—some believed it was Greenland, Newfoundland perhaps, or perchance Cape Breton—but it seems clear that Cabot did not know what kind of a country existed beyond the headlands he visited. The same uncertainty surrounds the voyage of his son, Sebastien, in the following year.

Gaspar de Cortereal sailed from Portugal in 1500 and struck Labrador. He entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence without making much of it. Of course he carried back with him a cargo of Indians and sold them into slavery.

The Normands kept several vessels fishing around Newfoundland and Magdalen Islands as early as 1504. Jean Denis, *alias* Rongnoust, of Honfleur, published a map of the coasts of Newfoundland and neighbouring places in 1506. One of the landing places on the great island was called after him. Lescarbot says that the Basques, the Normands and the Bretons were regularly visiting the banks for the purpose of fishing.

Thomas Aubert, of Dieppe, travelled through the Gulf in 1508. It is said in the "History of Dieppe" that one of his vessels was commanded by Jean Verazzano, and that it went eighty leagues in the Gulf.

[1] Compare Port-aux-Basques, note, p. 231 of this number.

Sylvanus, in his map of 1512, outlines the "Square Gulf" — *Golfo quadrado.*

Sebastien Cabot tried to find a passage to the west (1517) by the strait afterwards named from Henry Hudson, but failing in this he coasted the continent without exploring the "Square Gulf"; went south as far as Florida, without landing anywhere.

Verazzano was closely connected with the merchants of Dieppe. In 1523 the king of France commissioned him to go to sea on his (the king's) account. He spent part of the following year in doing so. From Florida to Newfoundland he looked for a passage, but reported that the streams flowing into the Atlantic were all small, even the Hudson River, which he saw because he entered the present port of New York. He says of Newfoundland, that "it was known to the Bretons in the old days." He styled the country from South Carolina to Maine inclusively the New France. The fact that he had found no large river caused the geographers to imagine that, behind a narrow barrier of land and mountains, there was an ocean—the Sea of Verazzano—a notion which lasted at least eleven years. Verazzano may have obtained some confused ideas of the Great Lakes, through the Indians of Virginia or Pennsylvania, but he knew nothing of the Saint Lawrence.

Cartier's mission was to reach the Sea of Verazzano. His narrative (1534) indicates that Labrador was regularly visited by the French as far as Nataskouan. He speaks of a large vessel from Rochelle, which he met in the Gulf. Coming back, the year after he passed Anticosti, he was told by the Indians that higher up he would reach fresh water. Sailing in that direction he discovered the St. Lawrence through the whole length of the Province of Quebec.

Sixty years later, Champlain resumed the work at the point where Cartier had left it (Montreal), and described Upper Canada. The problem of the sources of the St. Lawrence remained unsolved until about 1660. The Northwest was penetrated for the first time in 1731, and we began to form a correct idea of the breadth of the continent in 1745. Therefore no one man has discovered Canada; this was accomplished by successive adventurers, each one having a certain share of credit therefor, but Cartier's share is greater than that of any two explorers put together.[1]

[1] All authorities are not in entire agreement with Mr. Sulte on several of the foregoing points.—EDITOR.

NEWFOUNDLAND AS IT IS.[1]

By Rev. M. Harvey, St. John's, Newfoundland.

Anchored off the coast of North America, at no great distance from the main land, lies the great Island of Newfoundland. Owing to a variety of circumstances, very little is known regarding this island and its inhabitants. Its isolation, the limited amount of its population, the restricted character of its staple productions and commercial relations, and the fact that its interior is even yet unexplored, sufficiently account for the ignorance that still prevails regarding it, and the small amount of notice it has yet attracted. More than seventy years ago Robert Burns described it as

> "Some place far abroad,
> Where sailors gang to fish for cod."

It may be doubted whether, at this day, the bulk even of the educated classes, in Britain and America, know more of it than that its dogs and fogs are on a gigantic scale. Doubtless, during the last few years, Newfoundland has obtained world-wide renown as the spot where the Atlantic cable finds the first resting-place for the delivery of messages, as it emerges from "the dark, unfathomed caves of ocean;"[2] and also because the recently laid French cable first rises into the sunshine on the little island of St. Pierre, close to its shores; but beyond the fact that it is thus a kind of ganglionic centre for the nerves that unite the Old World with the New, few know anything of it. Yet one might have fancied that its important position, its

[1] This is condensed from an article which appeared in *Stewart's Quarterly*, April, 1869, and is reproduced by the permission of the editor. The pleasing style in which it is written, and the interest which attaches to this isolated colony, warrants its reproduction in this series.

Stewart's Quarterly, published at St. John, N. B., by Geo. Stewart (now Dr. Stewart, of the Quebec *Mercury*,) for five years (1867–1872), was a magazine of much promise both from a literary and historical point of view. With the corps of talented and brilliant contributors that the young editor was able to gather around him from all parts of Canada, it is not difficult to estimate the advantages that would have resulted to general culture in the country had such a publication been accorded a more generous financial support that would have insured its continuance.

[2] The first Anglo-American cable was laid in 1858, but after being in use for a little while it proved unworkable. A second attempt to lay a new cable in 1865 resulted in failure, but a third, in 1866, proved successful. There are now three Anglo-American cables between Ireland and Newfoundland.

great extent, its vast undeveloped resources, its inexhaustible fisheries, would have prompted a greater curiosity regarding Newfoundland, and that it would not have remained so long unknown or misknown. . . . Here is an island considerably larger than Ireland, nearly four times the size of Belgium, the most ancient of Britain's forty colonies, lying within easy distance of England, and yet far less is known of its inhabited interior than that of Africa; its internal plains, lakes, mountain-ranges, are unmapped, its forests and river courses are undetermined. About 150,000 people are sprinkled around its 1,000 miles of coast, and live chiefly by the harvest of the sea; while the interior is left to the deer, wolves and beavers. Scenery the grandest and loveliest may be found within its boundaries; game, too, for the sportsman in profusion, at certain seasons; together with the charm of gazing at scenes on which human eye may never have looked before; and of making discoveries in natural history, in geology, in botany, the importance of which may be very great. . . .

In form it may be described as an equilateral triangle, stretching right across the entrance of the great estuary of the St. Lawrence, to which it affords access both at its northern and southern extremities. It reaches out toward Europe much farther than any other American land; the distance from the port of St. John's, on its eastern shore, to Valentia, on the west coast of Ireland, being but 1,640 miles. Nature has thus planted it as the stepping-stone between the Old World and the New. The northern extremity of the island, which narrows considerably, approaches within ten miles of the Labrador coast, from which it is separated by the Strait of Belle Isle, fifty miles in length and about twelve in breadth. The greatest length of Newfoundland is 420 miles, its breadth 300. Its area may be roughly stated at 38,000 square miles. Thus it is more than twice as large as Nova Scotia and Cape Breton together, and greater by 11,000 square miles than the Province of New Brunswick. Prince Edward Island, with its area of 2,133 square miles, might almost be sunk in Grand Pond and Indian Lake, two of Newfoundland's largest sheets of water. It is about one-fifth larger than Ireland, with its six millions of inhabitants, and one-fourth larger than Scotland. . . .

. . . It is needless to dwell on the commanding geographical position secured by nature to Newfoundland. As a sentinel, she guards the entrance of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence; and the key of

both river and gulf must ever be held by the nation that has possession of Newfoundland. Should the day ever come when an unfriendly power shall occupy this great bastion of British America, a naval force, issuing from such an impregnable harbour as that of St. John's could easily be made, would sweep the commerce of the new dominion from the neighboring seas, and command the whole northern Atlantic.

To give security and completeness to the Dominion of Canada, the possession of Newfoundland is indispensable. Linked to Canada by a railroad through the island, and a steam ferry across the few miles of sea that sever it from the mainland,[1] Newfoundland will thus take her natural place as one of the most important members of the young confederacy,[2] and will speedily rise into that importance and prosperity which are her due, but which, while an isolated dependency of Britain —a mere fishing station—she can never attain. To become the great highway of travel and traffic between east and west, as the eastern terminus of the Intercolonial railway and one of the *media* through which the treasures of India, China and Japan may one day be poured into Europe, seems to be no dream of the imagination, but a tangible reality[3] which the near hereafter will witness, should Newfoundland only be true to herself and accomplish her "manifest destiny."[4]

* * * * * *

The much maligned climate of Newfoundland is, in reality, salubrious and invigorating in a high degree. That fog and cold drench-

[1] This railway, 550 miles long, is now open for traffic, and runs in an irregular line through the island from St. John's in the south-east to Port-aux-Basques in the south-west corner. A steamer connects this port with Sydney, C. B., the eastern terminus of the Intercolonial railway—a distance of about eighty-five miles.

[2] Not yet consummated; but the recent federation of the Australian colonies and the rapid march of events toward imperial federation bring it nearer.

[3] The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway "from ocean to ocean" and the Company's fine line of steamers which cross the Pacific from Vancouver to Yokohama would seem to bring Mr. Harvey's dream nearer a reality. But three water-ways, one across the Pacific and two on the Atlantic, with two intermediate lines of railway, though giving ample variety and convenience to the passenger, are not favorable to freight traffic. Local considerations alone seemed to impress the promoters of the present Newfoundland railway, which is a light, narrow-gauge system, and describes a semi-circle through the island instead of running directly across it. The Trans-Siberian Railway, that gigantic project of the Russian government, has now opened up complete railway communication between Eastern Asia and Western Europe.

[4] Here follows a description of the fine harbors, the lakes and rivers of the interior; the agricultural capabilities of the island,—especially in the west; the probable richness of its mineral deposits, and the value and extent of its fisheries.

ing rains prevail in summer is a mistake, arising from the fact that far out at sea, where the cold arctic current encounters the warm waters of the Gulf Stream, fogs are very prevalent; and voyagers infer that because such is the case on the Banks, hundreds of miles from the land, such must be the character of the climate in the island itself. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth. Newfoundland is much freer from fog than either Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. Only on one portion of the coast—the southern and southern-western—does fog prevail, and that only during the summer months; the eastern, northern and western shores are seldom enveloped in fog. . . . Fogs, however, do very frequently envelop the south-western and southern shores in summer and frequently cause disastrous shipwrecks. . . . The more northerly set of the Gulf Stream during summer is the cause of this fog. Then its warm waters are poured more to the south and west of the island, raising vast volumes of steam, which spread from the Bay of Fundy as far north as St. John's, N. F., and are seen at sea like a huge wall of vapour, but never extend far inland. The proximity of the Gulf Stream mitigates the severity of the climate to such an extent that, as a general rule, the thermometer rarely falls below zero in winter, and that only for a few hours. . . . The climate is insular—the temperature mild, but the weather variable. The result is highly favorable to the health of the inhabitants, enabling them to do with open fireplaces in winter and to be much in the open air. Visitors from the neighboring provinces are invariably struck with the healthy hue of the people. . . . The blooming beauty of the Newfoundland ladies, so often commented on, is no doubt partly owing to this superiority of climate—the Gulf Stream having something to do with the painting of the delicate hues on their cheeks.

* * * * * *

But what of the unknown and unexplored interior, that must be little short of 400 miles in length and 250 in breadth? All that is known of this great region is to be gathered from the short narrative of W. E. Cormack, Esq., a Scotchman, who, in 1822, attended by a single Micmac Indian, crossed the island from Random Sound in Trinity Bay to St. George's Bay. This adventurous journey was performed amid great perils and hardships, and the feat of the daring traveller has never been repeated by a white man. The narrative of his journey is very brief, but is deeply interesting. The difficulties

may be judged of from the fact that he spent four months of incessant toil in accomplishing his undertaking; and only a man of iron nerves and unflinching courage could have performed the task. He and his attendant Indian took almost no provision with them, and supported themselves on the game they were able to bring down with their guns, encamping each night in the Indian fashion. During the first ten days of the journey they struggled on through dense forests of pine, fir, birch and larch, at intervals crossing marshes of peat covered with grasses, rushes, etc., their course being due west, and a constant ascent from the coast. In some of the forests the *Kalmia angustifolia* covers whole acres, presenting a most brilliant appearance; and in the woods, the jay, the *Corvus Canadensis*, the titmouse, and woodpecker were heard, and the loud notes of the loon made the lakes musical at night. At length the dense black forest was left behind, and the travellers found themselves on the summit of a great ridge, covered with scattered trees, reindeer moss, and loaded with partridge and whortle berries. Coveys of grouse rose in all directions, and snipe from every marsh. The birds of passage, ducks and geese, were flying to and fro from their breeding places in the interior; tracks of deer, of wolves fearfully large, of bears, foxes and martins, were seen everywhere. The scene, on looking back toward the sea-coast, was magnificent. Says the enthusiastic explorer:

In the westward, to our inexpressible delight, the interior broke in sublimity before us. What a contrast did this present to the conjecture entertained of Newfoundland! The hitherto mysterious interior lay unfolded before us, a boundless scene, emerald surface, a vast basin. The eye strides again and again over a succession of northerly and southerly ranges of green plains, marbled with woods and lakes of every form and extent, a picture of all the luxurious scenes of national cultivation, receding into invisibleness. The imagination hovers in the distance, and clings involuntarily to the undulating horizon of vapour, far in the west, until it is lost. A new world seemed to invite us onward, or rather we claimed the dominion and were impatient to proceed and take possession. Primitiveness, omnipotence and tranquillity were stamped upon everything so forcibly that the mind is hurled back thousands of years. Our view extended more than forty miles in all directions. No high land bounded the low interior to the west. We now descended into the bosom of the interior. The plains which shone so brilliantly are steppes or savannas in the form of extensive gentle undulating beds stretching northward and southward, with running waters and lakes, skirted with woods, lying between

them. Their yellow green surfaces are sometimes uninterrupted by either tree, shrub, rocks, or any inequality, for more than ten miles. They are chequered everywhere upon the surface by deep beaten deer paths, and are, in reality, magnificent natural deer parks, adorned by woods and water. The deer herd on them, in countless numbers, to graze. It is impossible to describe the grandeur and richness of the scenery, which will probably remain long undefaced by the hand of man.

It took the traveller nearly a month to cross this great savanna country, on which but one solitary mountain rises, named after his Indian, Mount Sylvester. Throughout the whole extent innumerable deer paths were observed, the only species of deer being the caribou, a variety of the reindeer, but much finer than that which Norway or Lapland can boast. Some were brought down by their guns, weighing six or seven hundred pounds, the venison being excellent and the fat on the haunches two inches in thickness. Many thousands of these noble deer were met on their periodical migration. In the spring they disperse over the mountains and barren tracts in the west and north-west division of the interior, to bring forth and rear their young amidst the profusion of lichens and mountain herbage; and when the first frosts of October nip the mountain herbage they turn toward the south and east. And so these countless herds of reindeer have, for thousands of years, traversed the interior, undisturbed by the sight of man. . . . Cormack's account presents us with the picture of a country very similar to the condition of Britain in the days of the Romans, and equally capable of being reclaimed and cultivated, and of having its climate ameliorated by drainage and the operations of the lumberer.

. . . When the richer lands of Canada and the United States are occupied, we may reasonably hope that the tide of emigration will take a new direction, and that the untenanted wilds we have been describing will be transformed into the busy haunts of men.[1]

[1] There are other portions of this interesting article that we have not space for here —the difficulties and dangers of the cod fishery on the Banks, so well illustrated in Kipling's "Captains Courageous;" the advantages to the Island of a confederation with Canada; its commanding position as an international highway. Enough has been given to arouse an interest in this oldest of English colonies in America. We hope to present other articles on some of the subjects opened up in this number.

Rev. Moses Harvey, LL.D., F.G.S., F.R.S.C., has been a resident of the island for nearly fifty years, and during that time has, by his writings and lectures, done more than any other man to draw attention to the resources and capabilities of Newfoundland. — EDITOR.

THE HEROINE OF VERCHERES.[1]

By Sir James M. LeMoine.

The early times of Canada teem with incidents most romantic: feats of endurance—of cool bravery; Christian heroism in its loftiest phases; acts of savage treachery of the darkest dye; deeds of blood and revenge most appalling; adventurous escapes by forest, land and and flood, which would furnish the plot for fifty most fascinating romances. On reviewing which, one can readily enter into the meaning of one of our late governors, the Earl of Elgin, who, in a despatch to the Home Government, in speaking of the primitive days of the colony, describes them as "the heroic times of Canada." The expression was as eloquent as it was truthful. The time is not far distant when the traits of Canadian history will be as familiar to our youth as they are comparatively unknown at the present time. D'Iberville, M'lle de Verchères, La Tour, Dollard des Ormeaux, Lambert Close, will yet, we opine, borrow from the magic wand of a Canadian Walter Scott a halo of glory as bright as that which, in the eyes of Scotia's sons, surrounds a Flora McIvor, a Jeannie Deans, a Claverhouse, or a Rob Roy.

Let us for the present peer into that bright past, and present to the reader's view a youthful figure, which graced one of the proudest epochs of Canadian history—the era of Frontenac.

It will be remembered that the Marquis de Tracy, in 1663, was escorted to Canada by one of the *crack* French corps of the day—the regiment of Carignan. Four companies (some 600 men) were shortly after disbanded in New France: the officers and privates were induced, by land grants and provisions, horses, and other marks of royal favour, to marry and settle in the new world. One of the officers, M. de Verchères, obtained in 1672, on the St. Lawrence, where now stands the parish of Verchères, a land grant of a league in depth by one in length. The following year his domain received the accession of *Ile à la Prune* and *Ile Longue*, which he had connected by another grant of a league in length. There did the French officer

[1] The author of this sketch is a well-known historian and naturalist of Quebec, and is a descendant of the Le Moine family, so distinguished in the early history of North America. The narrative, somewhat amended and improved, is substantially the same as that which appeared in Stewart's *Quarterly*, April, 1869, by the same author.—Editor.

build his dwelling, a kind of fort, in accordance with the custom of the day, to protect him against the attacks of the Iroquois. "These forts," says Charlevoix, "were merely extensive enclosures, surrounded by palisades and redoubts. The church and the house of the *seigneur* were within the enclosure, which was sufficiently large to admit, on an emergency, the women, children, and the farm cattle. One or two sentries mounted guard by day and by night, and with small field pieces, kept in check the skulking enemy, warning the settlers to arm and hasten to the rescue. These precautions were sufficient to prevent attack,"—not in all cases, however, as we shall soon see.

Taking advantage of the absence of M. de Verchères, the Iroquois drew stealthily round the fort, and set to climbing over the palisades; on hearing which, Marie Magdelenie Verchères, the youthful daughter of the laird of Verchères, seized a gun and fired it off. Alarmed, the marauders slank away; but, finding they were not pursued, they soon returned and spent two days, hopelessly wandering round the fort without daring to enter, as, ever and anon, a bullet would strike them down at each attempt they made to escalade the wall. What increased their surprise, they could detect inside no living creature except a woman; but this female was so intrepid, so active, so ubiquitous, that she seemed to be everywhere at once. She never ceased to use her unerring fire-arms until the enemy had entirely disappeared. The dauntless defender of fort Verchères was M'lle de Verchères: the brave deed was done in 1690.

Two years subsequently, the Iroquois, having returned in larger force, had chosen the moment when the settlers were engaged in the fields with their duties of husbandry to pounce upon them, bind them with ropes, and secure them. M'lle Verchères, then aged nearly fourteen, was sauntering on the banks of the river. Noticing one of the savages aiming at her, she eluded his murderous intent by rushing towards the fort at the top of her speed; but, for swiftness of foot, the savage was a match for her, notwithstanding that terror added wings to her flight, and with tomahawk upraised he gradually closed on her as they were nearing the fort. Another bound, however, and she would be beyond his arm, when she felt the kerchief which covered her throat seized from behind. It is then all up with our resolute child;—but quick as thought, and while the exulting savage raises his hand for the fatal blow, the young heroine tears

asunder the knot which retained her garment, and bounding like gazelle within the fort, closes it instantly on her relentless pursuer, who retains as an only trophy the French girl's kerchief.

To arms! to arms! instantly resounds within the fort, and without paying any attention to the groans of the women, who see from the fort their husbands carried away prisoners, she rushes to the bastion where stood the sentry, seizes a musket and a soldier's hat, and causes a great clatter of guns to be made, so as to make believe that the place is well defended by soldiers. She next loads a small field-piece, and not having at hand a wad, uses a towel for that purpose, and fires off the piece on the enemy. This unexpected assault inspired terror to the Indians, who saw their warriors, one after the other, struck down. Armed and disguised, and having but one soldier with her, she never ceased firing. Presently the alarm reached the neighborhood of Montreal, when an intrepid officer, the Chevalier de Crisasi, brother of the Marquis de Crisasi, then governor of Three Rivers, rushed to Verchères at the head of a chosen band of men; but the savages had made good their retreat with their prisoners. After a three days' pursuit, the Chevalier found them with their captives securely entrenched in a wood on the borders of Lake Champlain. The French officer prepared for action, and after a most bloody encounter the redskins were utterly routed—all cut to pieces, except those who escaped; *but the prisoners were released.* The whole of New France resounded with the fame of M'lle Verchères' courage, and she was awarded the name of the "Heroine of Verchères," a title which posterity has ratified.

Another rare instance of courage on her part crowned her exploits, and was also the means of settling her in life. A French commander, M. de Lanaudiere de la Perade, was pursuing the Iroquois in the neighborhood, some historians say, of the river Richelieu, others say of the river St. Anne, when there sprang unexpectedly out of the underbrush myriads of these implacable enemies, who rushed on M. de la Perade unawares. He was just on the point of falling a victim in this ambuscade, when M'lle de Verchères, seizing a musket and heading some resolute men, rushed on the enemy, and succeeded in rescuing the brave officer. She had indeed made a conquest, or rather became the conquest of M. de la Perade, whose life she had thus saved. Henceforward, the heroine of Verchères shall be known

by the name of Madame de la Lanaudiere de la Perade, her husband a wealthy seigneur. Some years later the fame of her daring acts reached the French king, Louis XIV, who instructed the Marquis of Beauharnais, the Governor of Canada, to obtain from herself a written report of her brilliant deeds. Her statement concludes with most noble sentiments, denoting not only a lofty soul, but expressed in such dignified and courteous language as effectually won the admiration of the great monarch. Madelenie, or Madelon, de Verchères' career has been graphically described by the Hon. Mr. Justice George Baby, President of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, her distinguished descendant.

Madame de la Perade, *née* Verchères, died on the 7th of August, 1737, at St. Anne de la Perade, near Montreal. She is the ancestor of the late seigneur de L'Industrie, near Montreal, the Hon. Gaspard de Lanaudiere, whose ancestors, for two centuries, shone either in the senate or on the battle-fields of Canada.

M'lle Verchères' career exhibits another instance of the sentiments which inspired the first settlers of Canadian soil, and by her birth, life and death gives the lie direct to the wholesale slanders, with which travellers like Baron Lahontan have attempted to brand the pioneers of New France.

THE RETURN OF THE ACADIANS.

EDITED BY J. VROOM.

Sad indeed was the fate of the exiled Acadians; and the story of their expatriation, to one who has learned it as the author of "Evangeline" has told it in immortal verse, is hard to unlearn.

Able writers have contended that the presence of the Acadians as neutrals was a menace to the safety of the English settlers in Nova Scotia after the renewal of hostilities with France, and that their deportation, therefore, was quite justifiable as a war measure; yet such, according to the results of recent research, was not the opinion of the British government at the time. Col. Lawrence, then the governor of Nova Scotia, and his council, most of whom were Bostonians, were directly responsible for the deed; which was done with the

assistance, if not at the suggestion, of the Massachusetts authorities. When Gov. Lawrence transmitted to the king's ministers, by the slow conveyance of that day, his plans for the removal of the French inhabitants, he was promptly forbidden to put them into execution. This merciful inhibition, however, came too late. Without authority, in the days of Argall and Poutrincourt, the long series of the English colonial expeditions against the Acadians began; without due sanction, Lawrence and Shirley brought about its fearful close; and the lovely land of Evangeline must ever bear the shadow of the wrong, though there is good reason to believe that the English residents of the province were as innocent of complicity in the matter, and as quick to show their disapproval, as were the home authorities who forbade it.

Readers of "Evangeline," some of whom know little else of the history of Nova Scotia, have learned from it (with the misunderstanding as to the attitude of the British government, which I have here attempted to correct,) the pathetic story of the removal of the Acadians from their homes, that they might be scattered and lost among the English colonists. The story of the return of the exiles, many of whom did at length get back to their native land, is not so widely known. The following extracts are taken from an account of the overland journey given by Richard in his "Acadia," quoting from Rameau[1]:

When peace was concluded in 1763, out of about 6,500 Acadians who had been deported, there remained a little more than one-half. Often had they in vain begged the authorities to allow them to leave the place of their exile; but after the peace their homeward rush was resistless. Divers groups made for Canada, where they settled. . . . . .

Those who had not been able to join this exodus met together three years later, in the spring of 1766, at Boston, with the intention of wending their way back to their lost and lamented Acadia. There then remained in foreign lands only a small minority, riveted to the spot by infirmity or extreme want.

The heroic caravan which formed in Boston, and determined to cross the forest wilderness of Maine on its return to Acadia, was made up of about eight hundred persons. . . . No one will ever know all that these unfortunate people, forsaken and forgotten by everybody, suffered as they hewed their way through the wilderness; the many years gone by have long since stifled the echoes of their sighs in the forest, which itself has disappeared; all

[1] Pp. 142–144 of Calnek's "History of Annapolis," in which there is a very full discussion of the whole subject by the editor, Judge Savary.

the woes of these hapless beings are now lost in the shadows of the past; others are joyously reaping harvests on their obliterated camping grounds, and there hardly remains aught but a few dim traditions of this sublime and sorrowful exodus scattered among the fireside tales of aged Acadians on the Bay of Fundy.

In the wild paths that wound in and out through the interminable forests of Maine, this long line of emigrants walked painfully on. There were small groups of women and children, dragging the slender baggage of misery; while the men, scattering hither and thither, sought in the chase, in fishing, and even in wild roots, something wherewith to feed them. There were very small children, who were hardly able to walk, and were led by the hand, the larger children carrying them from time to time. Many of these unfortunate mothers held an infant in their arms; and the cries of these poor babes were the only sound that broke the gloomy and dismal silence of the woods. . . .

While this sorrowful caravan advanced, some indeed were found whose failing strength refused to carry them any farther; however, all did not succumb, and one after another a few groups remained along the road to form the nuclei of future colonies. It was thus that, on the banks of the river St. John, several families fixed their abode amid the ruins of the settlements formerly occupied by the French in this district. . . . .

When the column of exiles, thinned out by the fatigues of the journey, reached the banks of the Petitcodiac, they had been four months on the road. There, at length, they could taste a few moments of respose and consolation. The first to come out at the foot of the wooded mountain-range along this river met there some men, half-hunters, half-husbandmen, who spoke their language, and among whom they were not slow to recognize fellow-countrymen and relatives. . . . .

Unfortunately, after this first burst of joy, they had to suffer great heaviness of heart. They had cherished the hope that, away on the other side of the Bay of Fundy, at Beausejour, Beaubassin, Grand Pre, Port Royal, they would find once more their lands, and, perhaps, their houses; that they might be allowed to settle on the farms which were not yet occupied. But they soon realized that all this was a dream. Everything had been allotted to their persecutors, or to new colonists. The great and painful journey they had just made was now useless; they had no longer either home or country. . . . .

However, a certain number of them could not believe that all was lost. . . Fifty or sixty families, men, women and children, once more set out; they rounded the innermost shore of the old Baie Française, which had now become Fundy Bay. Everything was changed; English names, English villages, English inhabitants; wherever they appeared they looked like ghosts come back from a past age; nobody had thought of them for a long time. The

children were frightened at them, the women and the men were annoyed, as by a threatening spectre from the grave, everybody was angry with them, and the poor wretches dragged themselves from village to village, worried and worn out by fatigue, hunger and cold, and a despair that grew at every halting-place. . . . .

The wretched Acadians, not knowing whither to go, allowed themselves to be led, and so ended by stranding on the shore of St. Mary's Bay, where lands were granted to them on December 23rd, 1767. Thus, without counting the long tramps they had to undertake to meet together in Boston, they had traversed on foot a distance of about a thousand miles before reaching the end of their journey. . . .

During many subsequent years there were numerous migrations. Acadians arrived from France, from the West Indies, from Louisiana, Canada and the United States; going from one settlement to another in search of a father, a mother, a brother, a relative whose whereabouts they had not yet found. Often death had claimed the long-sought one; sometimes, on the other hand, he that was supposed to be dead was unexpectedly discovered. Slowly the scattered members of one family succeeded, not infrequently, in all getting together once more. Those who were in better circumstances collected their poorer brethren around them; the bereavements of the past were gradually softened by new ties, and finally each group took on the aspect of a distinct and homogeneous community.

LOCATION OF THE ACADIANS IN NOVA SCOTIA.

By Annie Marion MacLean, M. A., Ph. D.

Considerably over a century has passed since the meadow lands of Grand Pre witnessed the expulsion of a whole people from the soil which they and their fathers had tilled and loved and cherished; but the years as they have gone have not dulled the interest of humanity in the pathetic story connected with that expulsion. There is a very witchery of fascination about the old and the new Acadian settlements in Nova Scotia. The romance of the past is slumbering there, and stores of historic records are in their possession only waiting to yield themselves to the earnest investigator.[1]

The Acadians are not found to-day in their old haunts. The homes that were theirs before the fateful days of the expulsion are theirs no longer. Their old lands are now occupied chiefly by

[1] It might be a matter of inquiry, however, if these records are really in existence, how they could have escaped the scrutiny of Gaudet and other investigators of this interesting subject.—Editor.

descendants of the New England immigrants[1] and United Empire Loyalists, and no living trace of the former dwellers is found. Grand Pre is as thoroughly English as though it had never been the centre of French prosperity. Tradition alone remains to tell the tale of the past. The name itself is very generally anglicized, the French pronunciation being retained chiefly by those who cling to the belief that the retention of the old names gives more historic interest to the country. Even Annapolis, the old town at the head of the beautiful basin which attracted the French voyagers nearly three hundred years ago, is wholly English. The placid river no longer knows the paddle of the Frenchman's skiff; no more are seen the dark-eyed Normans going about their daily tasks and singing songs of contentment.

The Cobequid of by-gone days is the bustling Truro of the present, and the Beaubassin of the past has but few French now. The heart of the old Piziquid has gone up in flames. In October, 1897, the historic town of Windsor was swept away by fire, and the old part left as desolate as it was after the French had fled one hundred and fifty years before, when the English officers burned the houses and barns of the once prosperous Acadian peasants. The fertile fields and dykes of the Canard no longer give forth of their abundance to the descendants of the first white settlers. Beaubassin, Cobequid, Piziquid, Grand Pre, Canard and Annapolis are dead to the French now, though for so long the scenes of flourishing Acadian settlements. The French villages of the present have been built within the last century and a half. Between 1768 and 1772 the exiles began to return to the peninsula, and those who had fled to the woods to venture out again. The Acadians live on the lands that cling to the open sea. Their chief settlements are in Digby, Yarmouth, Antigonish and Cape Breton.

In cold, unfriendly places these people dwell; but they always seem happy and contented and undisturbed by the progress of their neighbors. The French form a considerable proportion of the population of Nova Scotia. Out of a total of 450,396 there are 29,838 French, or about six per cent of the whole, according to the Dominion census of 1891. It is interesting to note the number of French in the counties which were theirs before the expulsion. Annapolis and Kings have but ten each; Hants has eight, while Cumberland and

[1] See Professor Ganong's "The New England Movement to Nova Scotia." Number VIII, pp. 216–219 of this Series.

Colchester have sixty-nine and forty-three respectively. Digby has now 8,065, and Yarmouth has 7,169. Shelburne is the only county which does not report a Frenchman; Lunenburg has but one, and Queens two.

The largest and one of the most interesting of the Acadian settlements is on St. Mary's Bay, extending along from within a few miles of its head to where its waters are lost in the ocean, in all a distance of about thirty miles. It is a unique village, stretched out so many miles along the sea, and following the indentations and projections of the shore. There is only one street, the back lands affording homes to but few. The French, since the expulsion, have never been drawn to the interior of the province, and all their villages are near the coast. When they returned, after their wanderings, they moored their crafts in the friendly coves where they could, unseen, watch the movements of the British ships, if any chanced to be about.

The whole settlement on St. Mary's Bay is called Clare, though the various sections of it are known by different names. This is the best known of all the places where Acadians now dwell. It is the largest, and in many ways the most interesting of the villages. The country itself is remarkably picturesque and easy of access. Second in size to this village, or, rather, series of villages, is the one along the Atlantic coast in Yarmouth County. This will probably become better known in the next few years, as the country has recently been opened up by a railroad. The villages here are about equal in advancement to those of Digby, with perhaps more poverty in places than can be found even in the backland portions of Clare.

The French settlement in Antigonish is a peculiar one. It is more isolated than the others. The people are poor and they seldom go away from home. They live on year after year, never dreaming that the world holds things they know not of. Tracadie is a barren land, and the winds from the Strait of Northumberland unfriendly.

Cape Breton is divided to-day between French and Scotch; and the former, in all their primitiveness, may be found there. The French in Cape Breton, of course, were never driven from their lands; as the island was French territory in 1755, when "the once prosperous Acadian peasants" were ejected from the peninsula. One must always bear this distinction in mind when considering the French population in the two divisions of the province. In the one we have new settlements, effected after the return of the exiles; in the other we have a people who have lived on practically undisturbed for nearly

three centuries. The main interest must always attach to the Acadians in the peninsula, for the very reason that they have had such an unusual history. They are a unique people in a picturesque setting. The lands they now occupy are in no way equal to those they tilled before the days of the deportation; the latter are rich and fertile, and most valuable to their owners; the former, as has been said, are mostly barren shore lands.

Such, then, is the location of the Acadians. The average Nova Scotian is barely conscious of the coast settlements that have grown up and support a thoroughly French population; but those at all

acquainted with early Acadian history cannot fail to feel an interest in the remnant of a race which endured so much hardship at the hands of a conquering one; and to those the present Acadian lands must be of more than passing moment. They are on the outskirts of the province, and one does not ordinarily pass through them; but all can at least know something about the settlements geographically. An inspection of the accompanying map and table may serve as a reminder that the Acadians are a people not only of the past, but of the present as well, and that they are a growing force to be reckoned with in the future development of our loved province.

DISTRIBUTION OF FRENCH.

County.	Total Population.	No. of French.	Proportion of French.
Inverness	25,779	4,153	.16
Victoria	12,432	50	.004
Cape Breton	34,244	207	.006
Richmond	14,399	6,138	.43
Guysboro	17,195	156	.009
Halifax	71,358	766	.02
Lunenburg	31,075	1	.00003
Queens	10,610	2	.0002
Shelburne	14,956	0	.0
Yarmouth	22,216	7,169	.32
Digby	19,897	8,065	.40
Annapolis	19,350	10	.0005
Kings	22,459	10	.0004
Hants	22,052	8	.0003
Cumberland	34,529	69	.002
Colchester	27,160	43	.0015
Pictou	34,541	43	.001
Antigonish	16,114	2,948	.18
Total	450,396	29,838	.06 +

THE LOYALISTS IN OLD NOVA SCOTIA.

By Rev. W. O. Raymond, M.A.

For the purpose of this paper we may consider the old Province of Nova Scotia as co-extensive with the present Maritime Provinces of Canada.

The number of Loyalists who came to the old province of Nova Scotia at the close of the American Revolution is generally stated as from thirty to thirty-five thousand. This statement admits of some qualification. It is difficult to fix the exact number of those commonly included under the term "Loyalists," who were at one time or another resident within the confines of the Atlantic Provinces, for the simple reason that there was for several years a coming and going, and as a consequence the Loyalists were never all in the country at one and

the same time. Some of the first to arrive grew discontented at the outlook, and after a few months removed elsewhere, or returned to the United States; others kept coming from various parts of the old colonies, and from England and the West Indies—where they had sought a temporary asylum.

With respect to the number of Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia, a few opinions of those whom one might suppose to be competent to speak with authority may be quoted. Edward Floyd de Lancey, of the New York Historical Society, a careful and judicious student of the Revolutionary epoch, made a personal examination of the records at Halifax[1] some years ago, and expressed himself as satisfied that the Loyalist emigration amounted to at least 35,000 men, women and children.

Sir Brook Watson states: "In 1783, as commissary general to the army, it became my duty, under command of Sir Guy Carleton, to embark 35,000 Loyalists at New York to take shelter in Nova Scotia."

Governor Parr wrote to General Haldimand early in the year 1784 that the number of Loyalists who had arrived in Nova Scotia was 30,000. He makes a similar statement in a letter to Lord North.

The most exact statement I have met, however, is that contained in a letter from a gentleman in England, dated May 24, 1784, to a friend in Shelburne,[2] in which the following paragraph occurs:

> I have the satisfaction to communicate the following extract, which at the request of the General (Sir Guy Carleton) was given to me by the Secretary of the Treasury: "Orders are given to victual the Loyalists in Nova Scotia, being 33,682, whereof 4,691 are under ten years, at two-thirds provisions, from the first of May, 1784, to the first of May, 1785, and from that period at one-third allowance to the first of May, 1786, estimating the whole ration at one pound of flour and one pound of beef, or twelve ounces of pork. The children under ten to have a moiety of the allowance made to grown persons."

This statement exceeds considerably the figures contained in the muster made by order of General Campbell in 1784, which gives the total of those mustered as 28,347, whereof 4,575 were under ten years of age. In comparing the two statements it must be borne in mind that all who came to Nova Scotia are not included in General Campbell's muster, the instructions to the muster-masters expressly stating

[1] See History of New York during the Revolutionary War, by Judge Thomas Jones, Vol. II, p. 507.

[2] See the Royal St. John's Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer of Sept. 9, 1784.

that such as were in situations to support themselves by trade or professions, as well as those who were dissolute and indolent, should not partake of the royal bounty of provisions. The muster-masters found that many were not on the lands assigned them. Some had engaged in the fishery, others had sought employment in the towns, and a few were sufficiently independent not to require provisions; doubtless some had already left the country, while others expected had not yet arrived. The general muster would not, therefore, include all who, at one time or another, came to Nova Scotia. On the other hand, the figures of the Secretary of the Treasury, 33,682, are liable to exception from the fact, noted by Thomas Knox in his letters to Colonel Edward Winslow, that rations were drawn for families *expected* to arrive in the country shortly, and for nominal servants in the families of some of the officers. Among those expected to arrive may have been those Loyalists—and there were a considerable number—who, during the war, or at the time of the evacuation of New York, retired to England to present their claims to the Imperial government for compensation for losses and sacrifices consequent upon their adherence to the crown.

A conservative estimate places the number of those commonly designated as Loyalists, who came to the Maritime Provinces at the close of the Revolution, as fully 30,000 souls. The question now arises: Should all who are included in this number be classed as Loyalists? Certainly not. The evidence of Major General Campbell's muster on this head is exceedingly valuable. My analysis, however, must be imperfect, for the reason that I have not been able to obtain a copy of the report of Captain George Stewart, by whom the Loyalists were mustered who settled along the Nova Scotia side of the Bay of Fundy to the eastward of Annapolis—in number more than 2,000 souls.

An examination of the returns of the muster-masters available shows that under the general designation, "Loyalists Settling in Nova Scotia," were included at least five distinct classes, namely, 1. Loyalists who had served in arms in organized corps; 2. Loyalists not enrolled in any military organization; 3. Disbanded British Regulars; 4. Disbanded Hessian and German troops; 5. Negroes. A few observations on each class will be in order:

1. The corps of organized Loyalists undoubtedly contained the

most pronounced and aggressive element among those who favored the King's cause in America; yet even here the element enlisted was exceedingly diverse in character. For example, the 84th Regiment, or "Young Royal Highland Emigrants,"[1] was classed among the Loyalist or Provincial Regiments, although it was raised principally from among the Scottish immigrants arriving at that time in the United States or Nova Scotia. The Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers were raised chiefly in Nova Scotia. The Royal Fencible Americans were raised in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. These corps were never out of Nova Scotia, and were disbanded there at the peace, but they are included among the Loyalists. Many of the men of the Queen's Rangers, the British Legion, DeLancey's first and second battalions, and other corps, were immigrants, chiefly Irish, enlisted at New York. The Royal Garrison Battalion was mustered as a Loyalist corps and disbanded in Nova Scotia; nevertheless it included comparatively few Loyalists, the majority being officers and soldiers of the British Regulars who had been invalided and sent to Bermuda to recuperate. This will suffice to show the composite character of the British American regiments. Doubtless, by far the larger proportion were natives of America, but there were many and important exceptions.

2. As regards the second class—Loyalists not enrolled in any military organization—an analysis of General Campbell's muster shows that there is even here a small percentage (*only* a small percentage, be it observed,) that can hardly come under the head "Loyalist" as commonly understood. For example, 208 individuals were mustered at Halifax as "Objects of Charity." Of these unfortunates the following account is given by Edward Winslow:

> "The good people of England collected a whole shipload of all kinds of vagrants from the streets of London and sent them out to Nova Scotia. Great numbers died on the passage of various disorders—the miserable remnant are landed here. Such as are able to crawl are begging for provisions at my door."[2]

There were included in the muster at the River St. John 233 individuals who were in reality old inhabitants of the country, but

[1] See the account of this corps in History of Pictou County, by Rev. Geo. Patterson, page 119.

[2] See Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. III, pp. 34, 35.

were allowed provisions on account of their indigent circumstances. However, there are comparatively few in this class of whom there can be any question as to their right of being considered American Loyalists. But with regard to the three classes that are to follow there seems to be greater difficulty.

3. Rather more than 2,000 British Regulars were disbanded in Nova Scotia at the close of the war,[1] and these, with their families, comprising in addition upwards of 600 women and 500 children, were included in General Campbell's muster. It is difficult to see upon what basis this class could be regarded as Loyalists in the commonly accepted use of the word.

4. General Campbell's muster shows 70 Hessians settled at Argyle (women and children included), 57 at Shelburne, 12 at Chester, and 59 Germans at Nine Mile River. The principal settlement of these foreign troops was, however, at Bear River and Clements, in Annapolis County, where more than one hundred of them settled with their families. They were principally Waldeckers and Hessians, and their settlements were originally known as the "Waldeck" and "Hessian" lines. This class of settlers probably did not exceed 500 persons in all Nova Scotia, and was not important, numerically.

5. As regards the number of negroes who came with the Loyalists, only an estimate is possible, but their number was about 3,000. General Campbell's muster shows there were 1,522 at Shelburne, 182 at the St. John River, 270 at Guysborough, 211 in Annapolis County, and smaller numbers at a great variety of places, many of whom were slaves. Those returned at Shelburne, the River St. John and Guysborough were free negroes who had been emancipated by proclamation of Sir Henry Clinton, and whom Sir Guy Carleton had refused, at the close of war, to deliver up to their former masters. A considerable number of negroes settled at Digby, and others at Clements and Granville formerly belonged to the Loyalist corps known as the Black Pioneers.[2] In General Campbell's muster we find 1,232 individuals returned as servants. The majority of these were doubtless negroes,

[1] The locations and numbers (women and children not included) were nearly as follows: Shelburne 833, River St. John 199, Passamaquoddy 153, Pictou and Merigonish 190, Guysborough 265, P. E. Island 65, Chester 50, besides a considerable number along the south shore of the Bay of Fundy, at Annapolis and elsewhere.

[2] Rev. Jacob Bailey, in 1784, speaks of a settlement of 65 families of negroes, one mile from Digby, and says there were others at Annapolis.

many of them slaves in the families of the more well-to-do among the Loyalists. Doubtless the Black Pioneers who served the King in arms had every claim to be considered as Loyalists, and others should be placed in the same category; but it is at least a debatable question, whether all the negroes who availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the war to escape from slavery are to be classed as Loyalists.

The question has been asked: "What proportion of the 30,000 Loyalists who came remained as permanent settlers in the Maritime Provinces?" This is a matter of opinion, and must remain so. Comparatively few of the old soldiers remained on the lands assigned them, and many left the country. Of the negroes, 1,200 were transported to Sierra Leone in 1792. Many of the Loyalists, out of consideration for the education of their children and motives less praiseworthy, returned to the United States. The attractions of Upper Canada — now the Province of Ontario — sufficed to draw thither some of the best blood of the Loyalists of the Maritime Provinces. Probably rather less than twenty thousand remained as permanent settlers within the confines of old Nova Scotia.

THE ASSAULT OF MONTGOMERY AND ARNOLD ON QUEBEC, 1775.[1]

By Sir James M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C.

Every country has in its history particular dates which, after a lapse of years, become, so to speak, crystallized in the minds of the people. One may mark a victory; another may commemorate a defeat; a third record a public calamity. Champlain's old fortress is no exception to the rule.

It is, therefore of paramount importance that the annalist, in the accomplishment of his sacred trust, should give a true record of past events, sparing neither time nor research in unravelling the tangled web of the occasionally obscure, dry-as-dust documents on which a date may rest.

[1] This article is re-printed, with the consent of the author, from proof sheets of the forthcoming volume of the Proceedings of the Royal Society (1899). The full title is "The Assault of Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery and Colonel Benedict Arnold on Quebec in 1775. A Red-letter Day in the Annals of Canada."—Editor.

The day when Quebec's brave defenders saved the province to the British crown, in 1775, is without doubt, by its far-reaching results, one of those unforgettable epochs in its history.

It was accordingly a surprise to me, on perusing Dr. Kingsford's elaborate work on Canada, to find that so far I had wrongly read history; that, in fact, the gallant surviving militia officers, who annually for more than twenty seasons commemorated within our walls by a public banquet (of which such flourishing accounts occurred in Neilson's "Quebec Gazette,") the repulse of Montgomery and Arnold at Pres-de-Ville and the Sault-au-Matelot, had seemingly forgotten the exact day on which they had fought and won; that the glorious date I had taken especial pride in recording in many of my works was wrong; that the innumerable despatches, letters, memoirs and diaries left by eye-witnesses or by reliable writers were also wrong as to the time of the fight; that, in fact, the ever-memorable assault had taken place, not on the morning of the 31st of December, 1775, as was generally believed, but on that of the 1st of January, 1776.

The doctor's statement, which had startled many other students of Canadian history besides myself, caused me to look up the historical sources on which my opinion was based.

In order to elucidate the subject fully I decided to consult other writers on Canadian annals, such as Rev. Abbe H. Verreault, of Montreal, and Dr. N. E. Dionne, of Quebec, both fellows of the Royal Society. I also resolved to have searches made in the archives and libraries of the United States.

As a preliminary, it occurred to me to look up the Roman Catholic parish church register of Quebec, considered so justly a reliable and accurate record of marriages, births and deaths since the foundation of the colony.

I therein read of the burial of a French Canadian, by name Louis Vallerand, on the 1st January, 1776; the said Vallerand was killed at the engagement at Quebec the day previous, viz., the 31st December, 1775.

In order to abridge the array of authorities which can be put forth on the task before me I shall, with Dr. Dionne's permission, confine myself to quote the leading authorities contained in his able dissertation, in addition to my own.

The doctor, after alluding to the accounts of the banquets com-

memorating the repulse of Montgomery and Arnold, to be found in the columns of the old "Quebec Gazette," 1776, 1779, etc., says: "The 'Quebec Herald' of the 14th January, 1790, mentions the annual banquet as follows: 'Thursday last, being the 31st December, the Veterans held their annual dinner.'" He quotes an extract of a letter written six days after the engagement by General Wooster to Colonel Warner, both distinguished officers of the Continental army:

"With the greatest distress of mind," writes the general, "I now sit down to inform you of the event of an unfortunate attack made upon Quebec between the hours of four and six of the morning of the 31st December last."

Then comes a passage taken from the journal of an English officer present at the siege, and inserted in W. Smith's "History of Canada," as follows: "31st December, Mr. Montgomery, with 900 of the best men, attacked Pres-de-Ville, and Arnold, with 700 chosen fellows, attacked at Sault-au-Matelot."

We have next the statement of an eye-witness, one who saw all that took place before, pending and after the assault of December, 1775, viz., an extract of a pastoral letter from no less a personage than the Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec, Monsigneur Briand. It is dated 29th December, 1776. This dignitary takes occasion to recall the memorable engagement as a subject for congratulation to his flock. "What," says his lordship, "are our feelings on the happy and glorious event of the 31st December, 1775!"

Bishop Briand, a resident of Quebec, surely could not have been mistaken as to the date in alluding to such a recent occurrence!

Dr. Dionne also puts forth an important document, the text of the inscription on Richard Montgomery's tombstone at St. Paul's Church, New York, showing "31st December, 1775," as the date of his death. This inscription was prepared by Benjamin Franklin. Is it likely that such an eminent man as Dr. Franklin should have inserted this date thoughtlessly and without consulting well-informed persons on this subject?

Among United States travellers who have published books on the compaign of 1775, Dr. Dionne mentions the following: Sansom,[1] Silliman,[2] and a well-known American writer on the battles of 1775-81,

[1] "Sketches of Lower Canada, Historical and Descriptive, with the Author's Recollections, 1817," p. 631.

[2] "Remarks made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec in the Autumn of 1819-1820," p. 284.

Henry B. Carrington, who says: "It was not until the night of the thirtieth, when but one day of legal service remained for a large portion of the troops, that the preparations were complete;"[1] that is, that the preparations for the assault were completed only during the night of the thirtieth, when one day alone remained for the greater portion of the troops.

It was, then, indispensable not to wait for the 1st January to make the assault, as the term of service of a large portion of the soldiers expired with the end of the year. (Bancroft's "History of the United States," Vol. VII, p. 121).

Ill-clad, ill-fed, Montgomery's followers were little inclined for a winter campaign, fought with exposure and suffering. Many longed to return to their homes.

Perault,[2] Bibaud,[3] Smith,[4] Hawkins,[5] and Gerneau,[6] who wrote at the beginning of the century, and who could easily collect the traditions of the past, are unanimous in fixing to the 31st December, 1775, the attack on Quebec.

"Then," adds Dr. Dionne, "all the recent writers on this thrilling period agree in recording the assault on Quebec as taking place on the 31st December, 1775—Charles Rogers,[7] who wrote in 1856, Rev. W. H. Withrow,[8] Sir James M. LeMoine,[9] L. P. Turcotte,[10] and Faucher de St. Maurice."

In reply to a communication I addressed to a literary friend across the border, Mr. Edward Denham, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, drawing his attention to Dr. Kingsford's statement, I received a voluminous memoir, disclosing considerable research through the United States libraries and archives. Lack of space compels me to omit here even the title of the authorities, referring the reader to the text of the same, fully set forth in the last number of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada.

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[1] "Battles of the American Revolution, 1775-81," p. 134.

[2] "Abrégé, Histoire du Canada, 2ème partie," p. 117.

[3] "Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la Domination Anglaise," p. 67.

[4] "History of Canada," II, 161.

[5] "Picture of Quebec," p. 427.

[6] "Histoire du Canada, 1ère édition, 1848," T. III, p. 436.

[7] "The Rise of Canada from Barbarism to Wealth and Civilization," p. 62.

[8] A Popular History of the Dominion of Canada, 1885," p. 279.

[9] "V. Album de Touriste," pp. 33, 70, et suiv.

[10] "Invasion du Canada et Siège de Québec, 1775-76, 1876," p. 47.

"I have already referred to Wm. Smith's oration, in which is the date, December 31, 1775, and which was published at least twice, separately. I have never seen either of the original editions, but it is given in full in Peter Force, IV, pp. 1675–1684. The monument erected in New York, at the rear of St. Paul's Chapel, gives the date of his death as December 31, 1775. The inscription upon it is given in Lorring's 'Field-Book,' Vol. I, p. 201, and blunders in regard to his age, which it says is '37.' As he was born December 3, 1736, he had just completed his 39th year."

Such are some of the authorities in support of the generally accepted date of the attack on Quebec in December, 1775, by the troops of Congress—the date put forth by the eminent historian, George Bancroft, in his "History of the United States of America," Vol. VII, p. 131.

Let us see the documents on which Dr. W. Kingsford rests his theory in Volume VI, page 33, of his "History of Canada." Quoting Finlay's "Journal," the doctor wrote:

"31st December.—Wind N. E., very stormy and dark. As Captain Malcolm Fraser, of the Emigrants, who that night commanded the main guard," etc.

"Caldwell writes: 'They (the Congress troops) remained until the 31st December. About five o'clock in the morning we were alarmed at our picket by Captain Fraser, who was captain of the main guard," etc.

"Mr. James Thompson, who, as engineer, carried on the work of increasing the fortifications, and lived to be 98, dying on the 30th August, 1830, describes two assaults on the night of the 31st December, 1775, or rather the morning of the 1st January, as the time when Arnold approached Palace Gate" (p. 113).

"Badeaux (Verrault, p. 182) gives the same date. 'Enfin, ne trouvant aucun moyen pour entrer dans la ville, il forma l'escalade le premier jour de l'anneé 1776, à quatre heures du matin."

"The error," Dr. Kingsford adds, "apparently has arisen from Sanguinet having described the event as taking place '*le trente et un de decembre, 1775, a cinq heures du matin.*' Sanguinet was, however, at the time at Montreal, and whatever the expression may mean, he cannot be accepted as an authority for what took place during the siege."

Let us now sift the foregoing evidence adduced by Dr. Kingsford.

Finlay's testimony seems to us anything but conclusive as favouring Dr. Kingford's assumption, especially when read in conjunction with the statement of Colonel Cardwell, which immediately follows it, and

which mentions five o'clock in the morning of the 31st December as the hour when Captain Fraser gave the alarm.

Old Sergeant James Thompson, stonemason and "overseer of the works," as foreman, not as engineer, and who lived to be 98, dying on the 30th August, 1830, who left a diary which he dictated to his son, James Thompson, jr., on the 31st July, 1828, two years before his death, can scarcely be accepted as a sufficient authority; the memory of nonagenarians attaining 96 years being liable to become faulty. This supposition becomes a certainty on referring to another passage in his diary, dictated also on the 31st July, 1828, wherein it is said that "on the 31st December, before daylight, General Montgomery made an attempt at assault by Pres-de-Ville and Sault-au-Matelot," etc., "where he and two of his officers and a sergeant were shot dead by a single discharge," etc.

Guy Carleton, commander-in-chief, in a letter to General Howe, Quebec, 12th January, 1776, relates the attack as being made on the 31st December, 1775.

The evidence of Henry, a volunteer in the troops of Congress, taken prisoner on the 31st December, 1775, quoted by Kingsford, is open to suspicion, as his presumed diary or memoir, instead of being in his own handwriting, was dictated to his daughter thirty-seven years later, viz., in 1812, as appears by the following:

"The campaign against Quebec was dictated to his daughter Ann Mary, the mother of the writer, with the aid of casual notes and memoranda, from his (Henry's) bed of sickness—his latest years. The manuscript received no revision at his hands, for he was called away shortly after the pages were written. His widow gave it to the press in 1812, and it was printed without even a correction of verbal or typographical errors." ("Account of Arnold's Campaign Against Quebec," published by Maunsell, Albany, 1817).

Sanguinet, a member of the Montreal Bar, who left what has ever been held a copious and reliable journal of the siege operations of 1775, and who places the assault on the morning of the 31st December, visited Quebec in May, 1776, when the particulars of the attack were fresh in everyone's mind. According to Dr. Kingsford he cannot be accepted as an authority for what took place during the siege, on account of his absence.

The doctor, however, accepts the version of the journal attributed to Badeaux, a Three Rivers Notary, though Badeaux no more than

Sanguinet was present at Quebec on the day of the engagement. The doctor, however, in Badeaux's case forgot, or did not choose to add, that on the margin of Badeaux's manuscript, in Badeaux's own handwriting, occurs the correction "31 décembre, 1775," and that the learned Jacques Viger, the antiquary, who owned Badeax's manuscript journal, inscribed under the correction the words "Et c'est vrai. J. V." (His initials).

Another work highly prized for historic value, Hawkins' "Picture of Quebec," published in 1834, with the joint collaboration of the scholarly Dr. John Charlton Fisher, of the learned Andrew Stuart, Q.C., and the late Judge Adam Tom, fixes the date of Montgomery and Arnold's assault on Quebec on the 31st December, 1775.

In 1834 these eminent men had special facilities to inform themselves of the date, as they had numbered among their contemporaries eye-witnesses of the battle, such as Sergeant J. Thompson and others.

Taking into consideration the array of authorities available to the annalist of that period, it seems to me a matter of regret that such an industrious writer as Dr. Kingsford did not find the time to extend the field of his researches; and should have taken on himself, on the slender evidence he adduces, to alter the date of the assault on Quebec in 1775, as given by Bancroft and other reliable historians.

COMMENTS.

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HISTORY OF FRUIT CULTURE IN CANADA.

By George Johnson, Dept. of Agriculture, Ottawa.

A sheltered Acadian valley snugly ensconced between two protecting mountain ranges; the sloping land to the east of the bold heights of the Citadel, Quebec; the plains which nestle around the Royal Mount at the confluence of the Ottawa river with the St. Lawrence — these were the places selected by the early French colonists to make their first experiments in horticulture.

Before their arrival in Canada, the Norse mariner, Lief Ericsson, had visited the Acadian Valley in 1000 A. D., and given it the name of Vinland because of the grapes which grew there in abundance.

Some of the old Indian names ending in Acadia attest the plentifulness of various kinds of wild fruits along the Atlantic littoral.

When Cartier visited the River St. Lawrence in 1535, he came to a spacious green island possessed of such an affluence of grapes that he named it the Isle of Bacchus. When he went up the river to the slopes of the mountain, which he fitly named Montreal, he was greeted by the red men with a feast of corn, pease, beans and cucumbers, and solaced with an after-dinner pipe of tobacco. In 1541 his men sowed turnip seed opposite Cape Diamond.

When 60 or 70 years after Cartier's visit to the New France of Verazzano, DeMonts landed at Port Royal, Acadia, he found the natives growing corn to which Poutrincourt added wheat, having brought with him the seed from Old France.

Going across the Bay of Fundy (French Bay, they called it), they were delighted with the clusters of grapes they discovered on the vines that grew at the base of the limestone cliffs of the St. John river.

When Champlain, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, sailed up the St. Lawrence intent on colonization, he carried with him some apple shoots which had been provided by the foresight of DeMonts.

Champlain planted gardens both on the northern shores of the beautiful basin of Port Royal and on the northern banks of the St. Lawrence; the first (called to this day "the French garden") between two mountain-fed streams that flowed into the beautiful basin, and the second in the neighborhood of Cape Diamond. In 1609, Champlain

provided a garden at Quebec in which he cultivated maize, wheat, rye and barley, with vegetables of all kinds ; and he had a small vineyard of native grapes. To him also belongs the honour of being the first to plant gardens in Montreal, which he did in 1611 while waiting—he tells us—for the Indians to come down the Ottawa to exchange their winter gatherings of furs for the white man's goods. He says : "I planted two gardens, one in the meadows and the other in the woods, and on the 2nd June I sowed seeds which all came up quickly, showing the goodness of the soil."

Louis Hébert, before 1617 in Acadie and after 1617 in Quebec, tilled the ground, supplied himself and family with fruits and vegetables, and developed, in the neighborhood of the wood-crowned height overlooking the Isle of Bacchus, a garden which later on enabled the garrison to resist the assaulting forces of Kirke for some time, and proved that with more of such gardens to draw upon Champlain need not have surrendered.

Thus early were there a few sagacious men clear-sighted enough to see that the fur-trade, though lucrative, was not the only branch of industry worthy of diligent prosecution. In fact, very early in the history of the white man on this continent, contact with Huron and Iroquois taught him that it was not wise to trust to the products of the chase alone for subsistence.

The early Jesuits, like Brébeuf, learned the Algonquin language and the art of growing melons simultaneously. In their poor and miserably furnished cabin in the meadow opposite l'pointe aux Liévres on the St. Charles River, they studied the structure of the roots of the Indian's tongue, and among the pine stumps of their garden they varied the monotony by planting, weeding and digging up roots of carrots, turnips and other vegetables, bestowing special care upon the few fruit trees they had raised from seedlings brought from France, and the many grape vines they had transplanted from the great island near by, now known as the Isle of Orleans.

They record having given their dusky Indian friends bits of citron, telling them by way of explanation that it was the melon of France, thus indicating that the aborigines were acquainted with the melon.

History here and there gives glimpses of the development of horticulture in Canada, chiefly, however, in the direction of wheat-raising and corn-growing. It rarely refers to fruit culture as a special branch of horticulture.

We hear of apple trees in 1633, when they are mentioned as growing on the banks of the Dauphin, the L'Equille, and the L'Orignal rivers and in the neighborhood of Basin des Mines, alongside the banks of the Riviere des Canards and of the Gaspereaux, where they had been planted by the early French settlers of Acadia.

Whether the early efforts of Champlain to introduce the apple on the banks of the St. Lawrence were as successful as his attempts to grow vegetables, we are unable to say.

Pierre Boucher, in 1664, twenty-nine years after Champlain's death, wrote: "The soil of Montreal is better than elsewhere and produces melons and onions in abundance." He remarks that in the country of the Iroquois (south of Lake Ontario) "one sees fruit trees in abundance."—negative evidence that they were not to be seen in any great numbers along the St. Lawrence further to the northward around Montreal and lower down the river. He describes the wild plums of Canada "as very good but not equal to those of France." "Two kinds of gooseberries are found in the woods." "There are red and white currants; also small red cherries of passable flavour." "The quantity of raspberries and strawberries is incredible, and they are larger and better flavoured than those in France; blackberries also are as good as in our gardens." "There are blueberries and many other small fruits whose names I do not know. Wild grapes, also, of which wine is made with much colour, very sour at first, but better after a year. Some persons have introduced grapes from France, which bear large and beautiful fruit." "Not many trees have been introduced from France except some apple trees which bear very fine fruit in large quantities, but there are not many trees yet."

Here we have a survey that fairly enough describes Canada at that stage in her development which marks increasing attention to fruit culture. In the Abenaki of the east, as the Indians called the Acadian land, the "land of the dawn," the experiment had passed beyond the tentative stage, and the valleys of the Annapolis and of the Cornwallis rivers were fringed with apple trees, while in the Valley of the St. Lawrence the possibilities of the future had begun to be dimly foreshadowed. The adaptability of the country to fruit culture seemed assured by the prolific results of nature's efforts and of man's skill.

Specimens of several of the classes of fruits are to be seen by an

observant traveller like Boucher. The apple represents the pomaceous fruits. The drupaceous or stone fruit are represented by the wild plum (*Prunus Americana*) and the sour cherry (*Prunus cerasus*). Of the bush fruits there are the raspberry, the currant, the gooseberry and the strawberry, and, as Boucher says, "many other small fruits, names unknown to me."

Of the nut fruit Boucher must have seen many varieties. Cartier named one of the islands of the lower St. Lawrence Isle aux Coudres, from the abundance of hazelnuts he saw there. The walnut tree abounded. The butternut was plentiful and widely distributed; so also were the chestnut and the acorn. Further west and later on, La Salle, on his memorable expedition, of 1678–9, from Fort Frontenac to the Mississippi, saw along the banks of the Detroit river, connecting Lakes Erie and Huron, walnut, chestnut and wild plum trees, and oaks festooned with grape vines.

The development of fruit-culture must have been very slow, for in 1749, Kalm, the Swedish traveller, says of La Prairie, opposite Montreal: "There are vegetable and flower gardens, but no fruit trees. . . . . For a distance of four miles around the St. Jean, the country presents another aspect. It is all cultivated and there is a continual variety of fields of wheat, pease and oats; we saw no other cereals."

The limitations imposed by climate, however, begin to appear. The citrous fruits, as the orange, the citron, the lemon, the lime and others, we do not grow. The moraceous fruits, as the fig and the mulberry, will not take kindly to our clime. The musaceous fruits, as the banana and the pineapple, we must import, if we want them.

More than a century later the records of the first Agricultural Society[1] established in Canada under the wise and sympathetic control of Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General, show among the entries of the first regular meeting, 1789, the importation of fruit trees from Europe authorized.

While there does not appear to have been much done during the

[1] The Bishop of Nova Scotia, being at the time in Quebec, was made an honorary member on motion of Lord Dorchester. In accepting the honour the Bishop stated that a plan was on foot to establish a similar society in Halifax. On his return to Nova Scotia the project was carried out. The Quebec Society therefore pre-dated the Halifax one by a few months.

eighteenth century to give life to fruit culture along the *cotes* of the St. Lawrence, there was much greater activity in the Acadian valleys.

In the year 1761, the township of Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, was settled by New England people. These found apple trees in the French gardens and homesteads, which the French Acadians before their banishment had tended for more than a century.

Incited by the success of the Acadians, the new settlers planted seeds and raised apple trees from them in that way, or secured scions from the sprouts which clustered around the trees they found there. Fortunately there were far-seeing men among these early English settlers. One of them, Col. Burbidge, ancestor of Judge Burbidge, not content with the comparatively poor fruit he found, planted a large orchard, introduced several new varieties and was one of the first to practise grafting, for which purpose the vigorous trees of the French period were well adapted. He introduced two varieties which have maintained their reputation to the present day. One was the Nonpareil and the other the Golden Russet.

Rev. Dr. Inglis, first Anglican bishop, about the close of the eighteenth century, imported the Yellow Bellefleur from the State of New York and planted it. It spread rapidly through the two valleys and is now generally known as the Bishop's Pippin.

About 1812, the Hon. C. R. Prescott went to Cornwallis and devoted his wealth, energy and common sense to the development of pomological fruits. He introduced the Golden Pippin, the Ribston Pippin and the Blenheim, and had in his orchard over 100 varieties of apples and fifty varieties of pears. In 1828 the Baldwin apple was introduced.

From these beginnings have sprung the modern apple orchards of the Annapolis and the Cornwallis Valleys to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand.

The French discovered the peculiar aptitude of these valleys for fruit-growing. Their English successors extended the area of production, introduced the best varieties of other lands, and found that every acre of the 450 square miles of bottom land and much of the rougher and higher land, were admirably fitted by nature to bring to maturity the finest apples.

There are now many young orchards of 2000, 3000, 4000 and

10,000 trees which give promise in the near future of providing annually several millions of barrels of this luscious fruit.

Turning again to the St. Lawrence, it is to be noted that the religious establishments followed up the early efforts, the results of which have been described by Boucher, and introduced many varieties of French apples. From their extensive gardens these were propagated and distributed. From being the exception it became the rule to have on every holding the orchard plot more or less extensive.

Still, at the middle of the nineteenth century, comparatively little could be shown as the result of good and conscientious work on the part of a relatively few men.

One of the great nurseries of the province was at Abbotsford. The first grafted trees were brought to Abbotsford in 1810, and the first seeding orchard there came into bearing in 1812. In 1826, Rev. Joseph Abbott brought scions of the Fameuse from Montreal.

The grafted trees consisted of three varieties, the Blue Pearman, the Late Strawberry, and a flat graft whose name was lost. These were procured from scions brought from the New England States.

The first regular commercial nursery was established in 1857, and from that date the Abbotsford trees became the foundation of many a valuable orchard in the Province of Quebec.

The first recorded meeting of a fruit committee in Quebec province, convened for practical purposes, took place in the winter of 1854. The occasion was the then coming Paris International Exhibition of 1855. The desire prompting to the meeting was that the French growers might show by their fruit what they had done in the Montreal district of the province in the way of growing apples, plums, pears, and other specimens of pomaceous and drupaceous fruits.

That exhibition undoubtedly gave a stimulus to fruit-culture. Large nurseries were established, and extensive importations made from Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States.

About 1874, Mr. Charles Gibb, a gentleman of education, independent fortune and leisure, began to take a lively interest in everything pertaining to fruit-culture, and his example induced many others to engage in the same work. The Fruit-Growers' Association of Abbotsford was organized in the same year — the first of the kind in the province. Under its fostering care the first fruit list of the province

was published in 1875. This contained much valuable information respecting the best and hardiest varieties of the apple, pear, plum, grape, cherry, and other small fruits adapted to the climate. It held its first exhibition in 1876, and pursued the beneficent work till in 1893 it was merged in the Provincial Pomological and Fruit-Growing Society of the Province of Quebec, which society is carrying on the good work with much energy and success.

One result is seen in the position of fruit-growing on the island of Montreal. On this island there are about 2400 acres (2500 arpents) in orchard, and almost entirely apple trees. The total number of trees is about 162,500, of which two-thirds are Fameuse, and the remainder Duchess, Strawberry, Wealthy and others. The product is from 250,000 to 375,000 barrels a year, worth on an average $1,250,000 annually.

In the Province of Ontario attention was given to fruit-culture in a desultory way at a very early date in its history. No doubt, the United Empire Loyalists, who " trekked " from the newly established United States in great numbers, brought with them to their homes on the northern shores of Lake Ontario fruit trees in variety.

But it was in Ontario as in the other provinces : the planting of fruit trees was simply to give the farmers' families an additional luxury and a great boon for health. Every farmer planted a few trees intended to produce fruit enough for home use. If the trees grew, well and good, provided they did not call for any great amount of attention.

Then came the time when a few men saw the possibilities of the future if fruit-culture was undertaken in a systematic way. George Leslie, one of the earliest nurserymen in Toronto, organized a fruit exhibition in 1832, but a few specimens of apples, some wild plums, and some small fruit were all he could procure. He brought trees from New York, organized a nursery, and succeeded in interesting others in the subject. But even as late as 1848 the best that could be said was that growers were satisfied with a few cultivated specimens of the larger fruits. After the formation of the Fruit-Growers' Association in 1860, information was disseminated, and farmers began to believe that the climate was suitable and not too severe, as they had imagined. Within the last twenty-five years the development has been very marked.

It may indeed be said that within a very few years this development has been great. In 1880, Ontario produced eleven and two-fifths million bushels of apples. In 1896, the yield was fifty-five and one-half million bushels — and in the following year a report by the Government of the province showed that there were 6,100,000 apple trees, fifteen years old and over, and 3,435,000 under fifteen years old.

From the same report it is found that the vineyards of the province had increased from 5,000 acres in 1890 to 11,100 acres in 1897.

Some thousands of acres are planted with peach trees, which afford a good living to many. The fruit is distributed all over the country, and is preferred by all who desire a juicy peach to the California peach or any other grown on the continent.

In 1899, the development of apple-growing had reached a point in Canada when the value of the apples exported was equal to the whole cost of the imports into Canada of all kinds of fruits, tropical and others, and more than equal by a million dollars and the profit of the total export. In a word, we paid for all the imports of pineapples, bananas, oranges, lemons, figs, currants, dates, grapes, peaches, plums and limes, and all other fruit a fruit-loving people enjoy, and we paid for all these with the exportable surplus of our apple orchards, and had three million dollars more than was needed to square the account, to spend on other articles or bring home to Canada to increase the savings bank account or aid in planting more apple orchards.

We shipped in 1842—that is, fifty-eight years ago—856 barrels of apples and a few casks of cider to points outside the present Dominion.

In 1899, we shipped to outside countries 1,075,100 barrels of green apples, and over eight million pounds of dried apples,—the former by far the best on this continent, bringing an average price higher than the apples of the United States of North America, their rosy colour, firm texture, juicy pulp and fine flavour making them prime favourites among the people on the west side of the English Channel, who among other excellent traits of character, derived possibly from the strain of Norman and French blood in their veins, know a good apple when they see it, and knowing it are willing to pay for its possession, and, therefore, give higher prices for Canadian apples than for others. Of course this is not to be wondered at. We take the finest fruit from their native lands and we improve on them. We took the

Bellefleur from France, gave the young tree a chance to suckle the rich soil of Canada; let Canada's bracing air play among its leaves, and Canada's glorious sunshine paint the ruddiness of its beams upon the apple's cheeks, and the result is the Bishop's Pippin. Our neighbours procured an apple from Germany many years ago, and put their best pomological skill upon it. It grew into the luscious Gravenstein. Canadian fruit-growers then planted it, with the result that in the Annapolis and Cornwallis Valleys there is an apple of medium size, bright orange colour when ripe, dashed and streaked with red and orange, possessed of flesh—tender, crisp, juicy and high flavoured, surpassing the Gravenstein of other parts of this continent as much as the United States apple surpasses the original Pomeranian apple which is the grandmother of the Canadian variety.

While the green apple is thus superior to those of other countries, the dried apple of Canada is just the thing for the making of a first-class brand of that sparkling fruity beverage which the genius of Paris has provided—Piquette. Of the millions of gallons used (50,000,000 were used in France in 1898), not one gallon was there made with other dried apples than those of Canada but would have had added piquancy and fruitiness had it been made with the Canadian fruit; for the slices are white and have a spicy odour, are thin and well dried, and, therefore, excel for the production of the popular drink in France.

When Canada presented herself among the nations of the earth at the Paris International Exhibition of 1855, the best she could do was to send four varieties of the Fameuse apple; five varieties of Rennets; six varieties of Grises and sixty-three varieties of other apples,—all modelled in wax. Thirty-six varieties of plums, similarly modelled, completed the pomological exhibit.

In the display of 1900, there will be found the apple, the pear, the quince, among pomaceous fruit; the plum, the cherry, the peach, the nectarine, the apricot, the Atlantic plum and the Pacific plum, among the drupaceous or stone fruit; the grape, etc. Among small fruit (*petits fruitiers*) there are to be seen the raspberry, black, red and white currants, gooseberries, strawberries—all of them superiors in every respect of those whose superiority was, as we have seen, attested by Boucher two hundred and thirty years ago.

As an illustration of the development that has taken place, the following facts are given concerning an establishment at Winona, Ontario, eleven miles from Hamilton. There are located the Helderleigh Nurseries in the midst of a veritable fruit garden. From the mountain top one looks down on a lovely plateau extending from the shores of the blue Lake Ontario to the bluff that overlooks the whole. The nurseries are situated along the base of the escarpment on alluvial soil, formed partly from disintegrated rock, and differing greatly in character; and thus the most suitable and varied soil is available from which to select that which is especially adapted to each kind of fruit. In 1882, there were less than 100 acres; in 1899 there were between 400 and 500 acres in these nurseries.

There are 125,000 plum trees now growing, 120,000 pear, 320,000 apple, 100,000 peach trees. Five thousand plum trees are in bearing, and 6,000 pear trees are planted in orchards for fruiting. There are 50 acres in vineyards. In 1897, the nineteen acres of vineyard yielded four tons per acre.

In order to meet the constantly increasing demand 300,000 apple trees, 50,000 plum, 45,000 pear and 40,000 cherry trees were planted this spring, and 150 bushels of peach pits or stones were deposited in the bosom of the earth to undergo those changes which Nature calls for as preliminary to the growth of the peach.

BEFORE THE LOYALISTS.

By James Hannay, D.C.L.

The English settlers who made their homes in New Brunswick from 1762 onward, before the coming of the Loyalists, were mainly from Massachusetts, where their ancestors had settled more than a century before. Their descendants now include some of the best-known families in New Brunswick, among the names being those of Simonds, White, Hazen, Quinton, Lovett, Atherton, Burpee, Barker, Beckwith, Coye, Coburn, Dow, Estey, Estabrooks, Godsoe, Garrison, Glazier, Hartt, Marsh, Nevers, Peabody, Perley, Pickard, Plummer, Rideout, Ring, Whitney, Woodman and Woodworth. Some of these names had also representatives among the Loyalists, but most of the people

now bearing them are descendants of the ante-Loyalist settlers from Massachusetts.

The principal settlements were at the mouth of the St. John river and at Maugerville, the former consisting of the trading establishment of Messrs. Simonds, Hazen & White and the men in their employment. Their life was lonely enough and full of hardships, for they had no other connection with the outside world than the occasional trips of the sloops which made voyages between St. John and Newburyport, carrying lime, lumber and fish. But even in this respect they were highly favored in comparison with the settlers at Maugerville, Gagetown and other points on the river who had no other means of communication with each other or with the people at the mouth of the river but by boats. For it must be remembered that there were no roads in the province in those days. As a consequence there were no wheeled vehicles, except carts, and this state of affairs continued to the year 1781, or later, for when Jonathan Burpee, one of the wealthiest farmers in the Maugerville settlement, died in that year, the inventory of his estate shows that he possessed neither wagon nor sleigh, but only the ironwork of a cart and half the woodwork. We may therefore infer that this cart was owned by Mr. Burpee jointly with a neighbor, and was used for the purpose of carrying the produce of their fields to their barns.

The people of the present day are so accustomed to roads and railways that they find it difficult to realize what it means to be without them. But to the new settler a road is everything, for without it he can neither obtain the supplies which he needs nor market his products. Happy, indeed, are the people of the present generation who have not only good roads, but railways. The difference in efficiency between a road and a railway may be judged from the fact that a ton of goods cannot be moved over a common road for less than twenty-five cents a mile, while on a long haul, a ton of goods can be carried over a railway for half a cent a mile. Forty years ago there was no railway between St. John and Fredericton, and the people of the latter place had to get their supplies by steamer or schooner in the autumn before the close of navigation by the ice. A St. John business man who had contracted to deliver 500 barrels of flour in Fredericton found himself caught with the flour in his hands in St. John and the river frozen. The cost of sending that flour by teams over

he Nerepis road to Fredericton was very heavy, and took all the profit out of his contract.

These early settlers lived in a very primitive fashion and their lives were hard. They resided in log houses, most of them of small size and very scantily furnished. In the inventory of Deacon Jonathan Burpee's estate, the total value of his furniture is put down at £5 7s. 8d. It consisted of four bedsteads, two tables, two large chairs, ten small chairs, and a looking-glass. There were also two chests and a pair of andirons. There is here a total absence of articles of comfort, to say nothing of luxury. There do not appear to have been either carpets or rugs in this rich farmer's house. There was no such thing as a couch or sofa, and the chairs were no doubt of the old-fashioned straight-backed pattern, so as to be as uncomfortable as possible. Our ancestors seemed to have looked upon it as wrong to be comfortable. There are people even now who act on this principle, but they are very much in the minority.

Kitchen stoves had not been invented one hundred and thirty years ago, and all the cooking for the family had to be done at an old-fashioned fire-place. The great feature of a fire-place was its capacity for consuming fuel without giving out any heat. A quarter of a cord of wood might be burning in the fire-place while the people at the back of the room were freezing. The kitchen utensils of Deacon Burpee consisted of three iron pots, an iron kettle, two iron pans, a frying-pan, a gridiron, a toasting-iron, and a brass kettle. Cooking at a fire-place was done under the greatest difficulties, the heavy pots having to be lifted on to and off a crane which stretched across the fire-place. To keep one of these huge fire-places in fuel in cold weather took no small part of the labor of one man. Meat had to be roasted before the fire and bread was baked in a bake-kettle—a large pot with a flat bottom and cover. This was placed among the hot ashes and covered with large live coals from the fire. Wonderful results were obtained from this primitive system of cookery, yet it was wasteful as well as laborious.

The food of the people in those days was neither varied nor abundant. In the Maugerville settlement a good deal of corn was ground and it was regarded as the staple crop. We do not grow corn in New Brunswick now, because it can be produced more cheaply elsewhere, but some farmers in Maugerville grew it in large quantities about the

year 1770. David Burpee, whose diary has been preserved, grew fifty bushels of corn in the year 1775. The price of corn varied from four shillings a bushel to nine shillings. Wheat was not much grown in New Brunswick at that time. Much of the grain was ground in hand mills—a slow and laborious method, but the only one available where there were no grist-mills near the settler.

Wages were low in New Brunswick before the time of the Loyalists. The ordinary rate was two shillings a day, but 2s. 6d. was given where the work was more laborious than usual, such as mowing, farming, hoeing corn and raking hay. Women servants received 10s. a month, or £6 a year. As the currency used was that of Massachusetts one sixth had to be deducted to bring it to New Brunswick currency, so that £6 was only equal to $20 of the money of Canada at the present time. While wages were thus low everything that had to be purchased in the way of clothing was costly. Cotton goods cost about ten times as much then as they do now. The ordinary dress of both men and women was homespun. Sheep were kept on every farm for their wool. This was carded and spun by hand, and woven into cloth on a hand loom of which there was one in almost every home. Flax was also grown and spun on these little old-fashioned wheels which are now in such request as curiosities. Every farm was capable of producing the ordinary clothing and bedding of the people who lived and worked upon it. But the converting of wool and flax into clothing was laborious and placed a good deal of work upon the women of the farm from which they are now free. The men might shear the sheep and heckle the flax but the carding, spinning and weaving had all to be done by the women.

Most of the men wore leather breeches, a garment which, however durable, could hardly have been comfortable. But every man who aspired to respectability aimed to have one good suit of broadcloth, which was expected to last him for twenty years. In the note of accounts of David Burpee we have the particulars of a suit which he purchased for himself in 1777. There were 3¾ yards of broadcloth at 20 shillings, 3 yards shalloon at 4 shillings, buttons, trimmings, etc., the whole amounting to £4 16s. 3d. After the tailor had been paid this suit probably cost David Burpee £6, or as much as he would be able to earn in ten weeks by working for others at the current rate of wages. This fact will serve to show the great difference in the

conditions of life between that time and the present, and it also explains the fact that the clothing of a dead man was valued and included in the inventory of his effects, and sold as part of the estate. No one in those days seems to have thought that there was anything singular in purchasing and wearing the clothes of a deceased neighbor. The clothing of Deacon Jonathan Burpee, for instance, was valued at £7 15s. 3d, and it included his best brown suit worth £4 5s. 6d, and a beaver hat valued at 10s. These clothes were all sold and worn by others, most of the purchasers being members of the family.

It has already been stated that the prices of all articles bought out of a store were high as compared with what we pay at the present day, while the prices of produce were usually low. Molasses in 1772 was 2s. 6d. a gallon, and 5s. in 1777, the increased price being no doubt due to the war, which interfered with trade. Salt was 5s. a bushel in 1771 and 10s. in 1778. Sugar ranged from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 8d. per pound, the latter being the prevailing price. Indigo was from 12s. to 20s. per pound; tea varied in price from 6s. to 7s. 6d. per pound; coffee was 2s., raisins, 2s.; gunpowder from 2s. 6d. to 5s.; tobacco 3s. to 3s. 6d.; rum from 4s. to 5s. a gallon. In 1771 it was 10s. The prices of farm produce varied considerably. In September, 1784, butter was 6d. per pound in Maugerville; in July, 1778, the price was 10d.; in November, 1788, it was 1s., and in September, 1784, 1s. 3d. Lamb was 2½d. per pound; beef ranged from 1½d. in 1777 to 3d. in 1780, and 6d. in 1783. Potatoes varied in price from 1s. 3d. a bushel in 1779 to 2s. 6. in 1781. Geese cost from 3s. to 3s. 6d. each; fowls, 1s.; pork from 5d. to 6d. per pound. The lower prices mentioned above may be regarded as the ruling price, for in 1783 and 1784 the great influx of Loyalists and the increased demand for provisions raised prices far above their normal figure.

Life in Maugerville one hundred and thirty years ago offered but little in the way of amusements. Musical instruments were unknown in the farm houses of that day. Now every farm house has its cabinet organ or piano. There were few social meetings, and almost the only events that brought the people together were the services held by itinerant preachers. Even these were not frequent, and there was no settled minister until 1774, and he had but a brief career, for he turned rebel and fled to Maine in 1777. School privileges were few, and the teaching was usually done in the winter by one of the settlers

who was fortunate enough to possess a better education than his neighbor. Thus David Burpee taught school in the winter of 1778–79, receiving 3s. 11½d. per month for each scholar. So far as his accounts show he had only seven scholars. The more closely we view the condition of the people of past generations the more clear it appears that the "good old times" of which some people talk are mainly in the imaginations of men, and that there was never a period in the history of this province when its people were so prosperous and happy as they are at the present day.

FATHER LeCLERCQ'S VOYAGE IN 1677 FROM NEPISIGUIT TO MIRAMICHI.

TRANSLATED BY W. F. GANONG.

In these days of swift and luxurious travel, it is not easy for us to appreciate its slowness and hardships in the earlier periods of our history. Yet we must take this into account if we would have a clear understanding of the conditions under which our forefathers lived and labored and triumphed. The narratives of the early explorers, and especially of the Jesuit missionaries, abound in descriptions of the hardships of primitive travel, and to most readers these are among the most interesting parts of such writings. Probably, however, there is nowhere a more faithful and vivid account than in the following narrative. Father LeClercq was a missionary of the Recollet Order, and was stationed at Gaspé towards the end of the seventeenth century. He published at Paris, in 1691, a book of great value to our early history, and chapter IX. of that work is devoted to the narrative. The voyage was made in 1677, as he tells us in the preceding chapter. The narrative is equally valuable for the clearness with which it reflects the devout and devoted spirit with which these noble missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church performed their laborious and dangerous duties, a spirit which never has been and never can be surpassed by the missionaries of any other church. Father LeClercq tells his story not only clearly but humorously, and, to the present translator at least, it is one of the most delightful chapters in all New

Brunswick historical literature. In reading it, one should remember that the distance from Bathurst where Father LeClercq started, to Burnt Church (near which it is altogether probable the Fort of Richard Denys de Fronsac stood) in less than forty miles, (see the map), and that by rail and carriage we could easily traverse the distance to-day within six hours.

Account of the laborious voyage of the author on his way to announce the faith to the Gaspesiens [Micmacs] of port Croix [Miramichi].

(From Chapter IX. of LeClercq's "Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspesie, Paris, 1691).

It is very true that it is only God alone who is able to alleviate, by the unction of his grace, the apostolic labors of the arduous missions of New France; also one may as well acknowledge frankly that all the forces of Nature serve only to increase the troubles of the missionaries if the cross of a crucified God does not communicate to them a part of that victorious power by which he triumphed gloriously over all which he suffered most harsh and most sorrowful in the shame of Calvary. It was also without doubt with this thought that the Apostle Paul said that he could endure everything with the favor of him who gave him the power to attempt all things, and to accomplish all for his glory and the salvation of souls.

I have never had an experience more illustrative of this truth than in the voyage in which I undertook to go to administer the sacraments to the French who lived with Monsieur Richard Denys de Fronsac at Miramichi, and to preach the gospel to the Indians of Porte Croix,[1] who had hardly ever at all heard the words of ministers of our holy faith. The charity which I ought to feel for all the Indians of my mission urged me strongly to undertake it, although it was in the winter, the most difficult and rigorous season; and it seemed that God had approved the plan when an Indian, even when we expected it the least, arrived with his wife at Nepisiguit,[2] who told me that to avoid certain differences which had arisen among the Micmacs of Restigouche, he had left with his wife and child to go to Miramichi in order to live there in peace with his acquaintances. Since this was for me a sufficiently favorable occasion and companionship which would be of very great aid in this journey, I requested him to put off his departure for several days to allow me time and the satisfaction of baptizing some Indians whom I had instructed to receive the first and most necessary of our sacraments. Our Indian waited for me

[1] The Miramichi was called *Riviere de Sainte Croix*, or *Porte Croix*, because of a curious reverence for the symbol of the cross which the Micmacs showed even before they were christianized.

[2] The present Bathurst.

gladly : Monsieur Hainaut[1] de Barbaucannes wished much to join the party, and offered in the most obliging manner to keep me company. We prepared for our purpose our provisions, which consisted of twenty-four little [loaves of] bread, five to six pounds of flour, three pounds of butter, and a little bark keg which held two to three pots of brandy ; for the rest, I took as a precaution a box of hyacinth confection, which the hospital nuns had given me before my departure from Quebec for Nepisiguit.

Nepisiguit[2] is one of the most charming places in all the Gulf of St. Lawrence ; it is distant only a dozen or fifteen leagues from the Isle Percée. The land there is fertile and abounds in everything ; the air is pure and healthy. Three beautiful rivers which empty there form a very attractive basin, whose waters lose themselves in the sea through a strait which makes the entrance [gives] and the access [to it].

The Recollets of the Province of Aquitaine commenced there a mission in 1620, and Father Bernardin,[3] one of those illustrious missionaries, died of hunger and fatigue in traversing the woods on the way from Miscou and Nepisguit to the river St. John in Acadie, where these Reverend Fathers had their principal establishment. The Reverend Capuchin Fathers, and particularly the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, have there employed their zeal and their charity for the conversion of the pagans ; they have built a chapel dedicated to the Holy Virgin, and it is said that one of the fathers who had gone from the mission, left his hat above the altar, saying that he would return to seek it when it pleased him ; [doing this] to make known that his order had the right of establishment in this place. The Sieur Henaut de Barbaucannes cultivates the soil there with success, and harvests wheat more than sufficient for the support of his family. Monsieur Richard Denys de Fronsac is Seignior-proprietor of it.

It is well to know that it is needful to carry the necessaries of life when one departs in Canada from the French settlements, and when one undertakes any considerable voyage; there being neither public-houses nor inns, and houses never being found in these vast forests in which to pass the night, one is obliged to sleep at the Beautiful Star.[4] Convinced as we were of this truth by our previous experience, each one took his wrap, and loaded his pack in which was a part of the provisions which we needed for the journey before us.

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We took our packs upon our shoulders and set out upon our way with

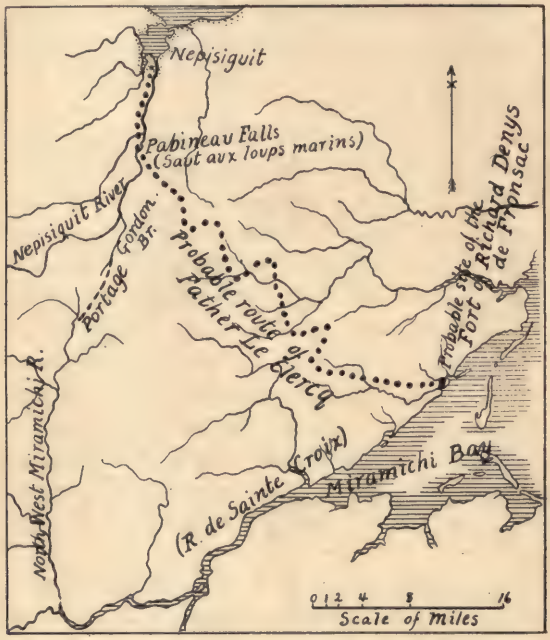
[1] This was the Enand or Enault often mentioned in the histories of that region.

[2] Bathurst, properly Bathurst Harbor.

[3] A conspicuous mountain at the head of the Nepisiguit river has recently been named in honor of this missionary.

[4] A pleasantry of the author, based on the custom of naming inns by such names as *Beautiful Star* ; he means, of course, out of doors under the stars. He refers to it again a little later on.

snowshoes on our feet. The night drove us, after four to five leagues of advance, to camp to pass the night. It was necessary in order to make things as comfortable as the country would permit, to dig a hollow four to five feet deep in the snow, which we had to throw out with our snowshoes, until we reached the ground which our Indians covered with branches of green firs on which we lay during the night.[1] Monsieur Henaut took the trouble with the Indian to cut and collect the wood necessary to warm us, and each one took his refection with as much contentment as if we had been in a good inn. Our only loss was of our brandy, which gave us great chagrin, for despite the pre-



caution we had taken to gum up the little keg of bark, there was found a little opening through which the brandy had run out along the road without our knowing it until we wished to take some after the meal. There only remained very little; it was immediately divided to console us for our discomfiture and to put what was left beyond the reach of loss. It is true, nevertheless, that we were deprived of a great solace by the loss of this brandy; for we found ourselves sometime afterwards in such pressing circumstances that this liquor would have been without doubt of great aid to us; but we had to console ourselves for this vexatious adventure, and we passed the first night, like all others of our voyage, at the Sign of the Moon and of the Beautiful Star.

[1] This method of camping in the winter is said to be still practised by the Indians.

The next morning, after having celebrated holy mass in a cabin which my people made for the purpose with poles covered with branches of fir, and after we had breakfasted and adjusted our packs, we continued our voyage, always ascending along the river Nepisiguit, as far as the rapid called commonly the fall of the seals [*Le Saut aux loups marins*] which marks the separation of the two ways which lead to Miramichi, the one shorter but more difficult through the burnt woods, and the other longer but easier by the river.[1] The great desire I had to go immediately to our [Indians of] Port Croix, to commence there the mission, made me resolve so much the more easily to take the route by the burnt woods, which the Sieur Henaut and the Indian also had traversed a short time before; and thus of one accord we left the river which nevertheless would have spared us much trouble and fatigue had we followed it, as experience made us amply know later.

That you may know what the burnt woods are, I will tell you that the heavens were one day all on fire, full of tempest and thunder which rumbled and made itself heard in all parts; the thunderbolt fell in a time when the dryness was extraordinary, and burnt not merely all the woods and forests between Miramichi and Nepisiguit, but also burnt and consumed more than two hundred and fifty leagues of country, in such a manner that we could see only trunks of trees very high and very black, which showed in their frightful barrenness the marks of a conflagration widespread and altogether surprising.[2] This great extent of country is always covered with snow in winter. One sees only the young shoots and the little bushes which appear rather as islands distant one from another from two to three leagues, than like the woods, or forests of Canada: in a word, this fire was so furious and violent, that the flames darted and embraced, so to speak, from one bank of the river to the other; whence it comes that the moose and beaver have [re-] appeared only long after this sorrowful accident. That which gives much trouble to the voyagers who traverse these burnt woods is that they cannot find places to camp under shelter from the wind, nor wood to warm one's self. It was, however, in these sad solitudes, and in these deserts, more awful a thousand times than those of stony Arabia, that we lost our way, because we were willing to follow the tracks of some Indians who were hunting beaver: for, wishing to examine the routes and turnings of the Indians and of these animals, we took a false route, and departed from that which without doubt was the most

[1]The identity of the Seal Fall is unknown. The distance the author gives above Bathurst, *i. e.* over four or five leagues, is rather too great for Pabineau Falls, though otherwise this would be very probably the Seal Fall. It is much the largest fall below the Grand Falls. The route to Miramichi turns up Gordon Brook below Grand Falls (see the map) whence there is an easy portage to the Miramichi. Just above Gordon Brook is the Chain of Rocks, a bad rapid, which possibly may have been the Seal Rapid.

[2]This fire must have exceeded the great Miramichi fire of 1825.

correct and certain. We marched three days continuously in the midst of this desert with incredible trouble, to the extent that we were obliged to stop there to rest from so much, so long and so painful fatigue.

The next day we continued our route with new difficulties, caused by a great abundance of snow which had fallen the preceding night and which well nigh made us despair entirely; we were obliged to march from morning to evening in these snows, which made us sink even to the knee at every step. This march, extraordinarily painful and fatiguing, added to the dearth of provisions, there being but a small morsel to eat each day, reduced us to extreme misery; our Indian became tired out; his wife with her little child aroused my compassion; and I tell you frankly, for my part, that I could do no more.

The necessity in which we were in every respect, however, obliged us to continue our route, and it became necessarily march or die. Monsieur Henaut, Sieur de Barbaucannes, was the only one who had much courage; he led the way; our Indian followed him, his wife came next, and I remained the last of the company, as being the most affected by the road, which, however, I found easier and less fatiguing than the others because it was beaten and marked out by those who preceded me; a fact which was without doubt of great aid to me, and gave me much comfort. Nevertheless, however hard this march was, I declare to you that it lost in my opinion a part of its rough and vexatious power through the hope and thought I had that we were approaching the river Sainte Croix; but indeed it seemed to me frightful beyond what one can imagine, when the Sieur Henaut and the Indian told me that for three days we had been lost; that they no longer knew the route nor the way; and that it was necessary to abandon ourselves entirely to Providence and to go where it pleased God to conduct us.

That news was the more dreadful to me since there was no chance of returning to Nepisiguit, because the snow which had fallen in great quantity since our departure had filled and covered all our tracks. In fact it was still snowing, and we had to make a virtue of necessity and to march until evening to find a place fit to camp.

I do not know how to express to you here, what our anxieties were at finding ourselves in the midst of these frightful deserts, lacking everything necessary to life, overwhelmed with weakness and fatigue, in the most difficult and rigorous part of winter, without provisions; and what is worse, without guide and without a road. To complete our misery, for three days we had eaten only a little piece of bread at evening, which then failed us entirely; so that having been obliged to resort to the flour which our Indian had in his pack, we were reduced to throw two to three handfuls morning and evening into a pot of snow water, which we boiled; which served rather to whiten than to nourish us. For consolation, the Sieur Henaut told me that he had two pairs

of Indian moccasins, with a fragment of old skin ; and that if the worst happened we could broil or boil them to eat them together. Judge from this whether we were not truly deserving of compassion.

The night passed with new difficulties. A wind from the northwest, cold to an extraordinarily touching and penetrating degree, well nigh froze us, because we had not been able to find wood enough to keep us warm during the night ; so that in order not to die of cold in our camp we left it before daylight, with trouble one cannot imagine. I came near falling into a deep pit which was covered with snow, from which they had much difficulty in drawing me out ; I can positively state that it had been all up with me, if by singular good luck I had not struck against a large tree which was across the pit, on which I remained awaiting the aid which they gave me to escape from this horrible danger, where I saw myself exposed upon the brink of death.

Scarcely was I a gun-shot from this precipice, when, wishing to cross a little river, one of my snowshoes broke and I fell into the water up to my waist ; this compelled Monsieur Henaut and the Indian to seek promptly a place to camp, [and] to make a fire to warm me, because the cold commenced to seize me through my whole body ; it was in this camp that the little amount of flour which we had hitherto husbanded very carefully, was finished as well as the bread ; hunger drove us in the early morning to seek what Providence would give us.

I comprehended from that time perfectly well our evident danger of dying of hunger, weakness and misery in the woods if the Lord did not give us soon the means to escape from them ; as I felt the strength commencing to leave me, and that soon I could do no more, I renewed the first intentions with which I began this sad voyage, and I offered once more from my heart to our Lord the troubles and fatigues which I endured for his glory and for the recompense of my sins. The thought alone of a Jesus Christ dying upon the cross, abandoned by all the world, giving us an admirable example of the sacrifice of our lives which we ought to make for the salvation of our souls, joined to the thoughts I had upon the death of Saint Francis Xavier dying in his little cabin destitute of all human succour, filled me with joy and consolation in the midst of my troubles ; and it is true that I was then persuaded, better than ever, that God has a treasure of favours and benedictions which he reserves especially for the missionaries who trust and abandon themselves entirely to the loving care of his Providence among the most frightful dangers and perils of their missions and of their apostolic labors.

We had marched the whole day and advanced but little, as well from my extreme feebleness as from the difficulties of the road, and whilst I was entirely occupied by these agreeable and holy reflections, Monsieur Henaut and the Indian, who were in advance, gave a cry of joy and of cheer for the

happy discovery they had made of the fresh track of an Indian who had passed that morning to go to the hunt. They both came back to me to assure me that all our troubles would soon be finished by our happy arrival at the fort of the river Sainte Croix, which they hoped they would reach very soon. I was not insensible, any more than the others, to the joy of this happy event, but, indeed, as there is no pleasure so pure in the world that there is not present some mixture of grief and anxiety, the satisfaction we should have received was affected by the uncertainty whether we should follow or retrace the newly discovered tracks; for we were exposed to the doubt whether this Indian had gone hunting only, or had commenced one of these considerable voyages over a long extent of country, which they often make during the winter to visit their friends. Uncertain of the route we should follow, we resolved at all costs to cross these tracks and to continue our former route in the hope that God would be our guide and have pity on us. He heard our vows and our prayers; our Lord, satisfied with our fatigues and troubles, willed to console us in a manner which makes us admire the wonderful ways of the divine Providence.

It is a custom usually observed among our Indians not to return to camp at evening, or at least very rarely, by the same route by which they left it in the morning to go a-hunting. They take different routes in order to scour the country and to discover more ground for traces of moose and beaver. God allowed, however, this Indian whose tracks he had seen, to return upon his tracks up to the place where we had crossed his way. He was suprised, but guessing from our manner of marching that those who passed were extremely wearied, he resolved to follow us, and came after us to help us as much as he could. A certain dull noise, caused by the agitation of the snowhoes and the movement of the branches across which he had to march, compelled me to turn my head to see whence it proceded. You can judge of my joy at seeing this charitable Indian coming towards me, by what you would yourself feel in such an encounter; mine was so great that I redoubled my pace, all fatigued as I was, to tell it to those who preceded me.

The Indian, named Ejougouloumoüet, undertook to guide them to Denys' Fort. They camped that night in the woods with but three partridges to eat. The day after they killed a porcupine and had a grand feast, and that night reached the Indian's cabin on the bank of a river. The next day, after a hard march, rendered easier by the devoted labor of the Sieur de Barbaucannes, they arrived, with the snow falling in abundance, at the Fort and Habitation of Monsieur de Fronsac, who did everything in his power to make them forget their past troubles.

NOTES ON MADAWASKA, No. I.

By Rev. W. O. Raymond, M.A.

We New Brunswickers are rather proud of the fact that in our place nomenclature we have retained many Indian names. We must confess, however, that many of these names have suffered at our hands, and in their present form are harsh and unmusical, as compared with their more primitive form. Madawaska, for instance, is much less musical than the older form Madoueska which is derived from the Indian *Med-a-wes-kek*.[1]

Remote as was the situation of the Madawaska country, when European explorers first visited our shores, there can be no doubt that the native races were intimately acquainted with that region in prehistoric times. The best travelled and most convenient route to the St. Lawrence was by way of the Madawaska river and Lake Temisquata. Early French explorers and adventurers soon became familiar with the route, and even in Champlain's map of 1612 we find crude indications of Lake Temisquata and the River Madawaska. It is not, however, until the Franquelin map of 1686 that the name of "Madoueska" itself appears, and even then it is applied to the lake (Temisquata), and not to the river. That the name was applied to the river at least as early as that time is shown by the concession, dated November 25, 1683, of the seigniory of Madoueska to Antoine and Marguerite Aubert, children of the Sieur Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, of Quebec. The concession, or grant, is described as lying along both sides of the river named Madoueska, near the river St. John, with the lake called Cecimiscouata (or Temisquata). The seigniory of Madoueska was one of the few that did not eventually revert to the crown on account of non-performance of the conditions upon which it was granted. It descended by successive purchases (and these are duly recorded) to Col. Alexander Fraser, who was the owner in 1828.[2]

[1] See Dr. W. F. Ganong's "Place Nomenclature of New Brunswick," p. 247.

[2] When the British and American plenipotentiaries were engaged under the convention of 1827 in determining the International boundary, the British agent submitted a series of fifteen documents to prove that the fief of Madoueska had always been under Canadian jurisdiction. The fact that the Quebec government had held uninterrupted jurisdiction over the fief of Madoueska had considerable weight in establishing the British claim to that territory in the settlement of the boundary dispute by the Ashburton treaty in 1842.

When the intendant of New France, M. Jacques de Meulles, visited Acadia in 1686, there were less than a dozen French settlers on the River St. John, and scarcely one above the present city of Fredericton. Bishop St. Valier, of Quebec, visited the River St. John the same year, and in his journal speaks of meeting some Christian Indians encamped at the mouth of the Madawaska. This river the bishop re-named in honor of Saint Francois de Sales. He, the day following, visited the Grand Falls, or, as he calls it, "Le grand sault Saint Jean-Baptiste," of which we have in his book the first published description.

The first reference to the Madawaska region in an English book is found in the well known narrative of John Gyles. The narrator was taken captive by the Indians at Pemaquid on the coast of Maine, in the year 1689, and carried to the River St. John, where he remained nine years in captivity. During the course of the first winter he accompanied the savages in their hunting to the head waters of the St. John, and in the spring came down the river with them in canoes stopping on the way at the place called "Madawescook," where Gyles says, there lived an old man who kept a trading house where they tarried several days.

In the course of the protracted conflict between England and France for supremacy in America, war parties were constantly passing between Quebec and Acadia by way of the upper St. John, and messages were sent by couriers from the French Governor at Quebec to LeLoutre at Beauséjour and even to Count Raymond at Louisbourg. In the time of the Revolutionary war dispatches were sent from Governor Haldimand at Quebec to Governor Parr at Halifax by the hands of the brothers Louis and Michel Mercure and other Acadian couriers.

Although many of the Acadians had become very familiar with the upper St. John region during the troublous war period, no attempt seems to have been made to establish settlers there until the close of the American Revolution. During the French regime Madawaska was deemed the meeting place of the jurisdiction of Acadia and Quebec, although the precise line of demarcation had never been fixed. This condition of affairs existed for years after the English assumed control. In the year 1764, the Indians complained that the Canadians hunted beaver on their lands between the Grand Falls and Lake Temisquata, "where the French had at all times been forbid-

den to hunt, that privilege (*cette chasse*) having always been reserved to the said Indians." In consequence of this complaint, notice was printed in the Quebec *Gazette* of January 24, 1765, prohibiting all Canadians from interfering with the hunting grounds of the savages down to the Great Falls of the River St. John. This prohibition evidently was not effective, for in 1767 two well-known chiefs of the River St. John, Pierre Thomas and Ambroise St. Aubin, went to Halifax to make certain requests of the Governor of Nova Scotia. Among other things they asked that traders should not be allowed to sell ardent spirits to the Indians, and that certain of the French who hunted on their grounds might be removed. Michael Francklin, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, thereupon wrote to Sir Guy Carleton, the Governor of Quebec, that certain Canadians and inhabitants of Kamouraska came every spring to hunt in the River St. John to the great detriment of the Indians of that river by destroying their beaver. Francklin expressed his apprehension that the remote Madawaska region would become an asylum for the banditti of both provinces.

The impression very generally prevails that the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Madawaska, came from the neighboring province of Quebec. Many of the families who reside in Madawaska, however, claim to be of Acadian origin, and they are undoubtedly correct.

In order to have an intelligent idea of the circumstances that led to the establishment of a French colony at Madawaska in the year 1786, it will be necessary to briefly consider the state of the French on the River St. John in the pre-loyalist period.

After the sad event known as the expulsion of the Acadians, some of the fugitives that escaped the general deportation fled to the St. John River where they formed several little settlements, the most important of which perhaps was that at Grimross, near the present village of Gagetown. In 1758, General Robert Monckton with a strong party, again drove them from their homes, burned their houses and barns and compelled them to seek for situations more remote. St. Anne's Point, the site of the present city of Fredericton, seems next to have become their headquarters; but alas for them! in the month of March, 1759, the settlement at St. Anne's was ruthlessly destroyed by a party of New England Rangers under Lieutenant

Moses Hazen.[1] Their conduct was disapproved by General Amherst, who strongly reprobated the killing of women and helpless children. Moses Perley, the well known local historian, says that when his grandfather, Israel Perley, with others, explored the St. John river in the year 1762, they noticed "the devastated settlements of the French and the blackened fragments of their buildings which had been mercilessly burned." On their arrival at St. Anne's Point, "they found the margin of the river, along the whole of what is now the town plot of Fredericton, cleared for about ten rods back from the bank, and they saw the ruins of a very considerable settlement. The houses had been burned and the land was fast relapsing into a wilderness state."

Notwithstanding the destruction of their village, the Acadians still lingered near St. Anne's. In their distress their Indian friends came to their relief. Their existence evidently was known, for on April 15th, 1761, Lieut. Gov. Belcher reported that there were forty Acadians at the village of St. Anne's who had made no submission. In August, 1763, these Acadians petitioned the government of Nova Scotia for leave to gather their corps and remain on their locations for the winter. Five years later we find Provincial Secretary, Richard Bulkeley, directing John Anderson and Francis Peabody, Esq'rs, in their capacity as "justices of the peace for the County of Sunbury, River St. John," to give notice to all the Acadians there, except about six families (to be named by Father Bailly, their priest,) that they were to remove from the St. John river, and that lands would be given them elsewhere.

In spite of all difficulties and discouragements the poor Acadians clung to the lands on which they had settled. In the year 1783 Major Studholme appointed a committee of exploration, consisting of two loyalists, Ebenezer Foster and Fyler Dibblee, and two old inhabitants, James White and Gervas Say. They found no less than sixty-one families of Acadians on the river, comprising 357 persons. The committee thus refer to them in their report:

Above St. Anne's we found a considerable number of French settlers,

[1] Moses Hazen, the leader of this foray, fought against the English in the Revolutionary War. He raised a corps known as "Congress' own," or "Hazen's own." He rose to the rank of Brigadier-General in the American army and is honored by United States historians as a great patriot, but the memory of this deed tarnishes the lustre of his name. His brother, William Hazen, was loyal to Britain during the Revolutionary War.

many of whom had been in possession a number of years. They, in general, appeared to be an inoffensive people, but few, if any, have a legal title to their lands.

About a dozen of these families lived near the mouth of the Keswick stream, on the east side of the River St. John, within the bounds of a tract of land assigned to a Loyalist corps called the Prince of Wales American Volunteers.[1] All of these went afterwards to Madawaska. There were two other French settlements a few miles above St. Anne's, one near the Indian village of Aukpaque and another called the Upper Settlement—a few miles above. There was possibly another small settlement on the lower part of St. Anne's plain, which at the time the Loyalists arrived was called Mercure's plantation.[2]

Major Studholme expressly commends the services rendered the British during the American Revolution by the Mercures as couriers, and by several members of the Martin and Cire families.

About the year 1768 a small French settlement was formed at Hammond River, on the Kennebecasis, in which were included families bearing the names of Tibideau, Violet, Robicheau, Goodin, Blanchard, LeBlanc and Doucett. These Acadians traded with the English settlers, and were employed by them in the year 1769 in dykeing the large marsh east of the present city of St. John.

From these little colonies of fugitive Acadians many of the founders of the Madawaska settlement trace their origin.

AN OLD TIME CONFLAGRATION.[3]

In the autumn of 1784, about one year after the landing of those Loyalists who came in the month of October, 1783, the first of the series of great conflagrations with which St. John and the Province of New Brunswick have from time to time been visited, took place. In its results it was as unfortunate to a large number of the inhabi-

[1] The names of the French settlers, as given on an old plan in the Crown Land Office, are Paul Muzeroll, Mathura Muzeroll, Francis Aubere, Pierre Pinette, Francis Goodin, Baptiste Diegle, Baptiste Vienaux, Louis Lajeune, Joseph Roi, Alexis Tibbidoe, Pierre Muzeroll, Maturin Gotreau.

[2] See Canadian Archives for 1891, p. 28.

[3] We are indebted to W. M. Jordan, Esq., and a relative of his for the facts here given.

tants as any which has since occurred. A gentleman who had obtained a lot in the neighborhood of the spot where the Centenary Church now stands, had cut the trees and piled the brush into heaps for burning. The summer had been one of great drought. Everything of a vegetable nature was as dry and as ignitable as tinder. The brush heaps only awaited the spark to burst into flame. The morning was calm with the slightest breath of air from the south. The owner, thoughtless of any dangerous consequences to himself or neighbours, started the fire. The result was one of those disasters, such as have too frequently brought ruin and desolation to many of the fairest and more thriving parts of Canada. About noon the wind suddenly arose to a gale. The flames spread with fearful rapidity. Men quickly gathered from all directions, with axe, pick, shovel or whatever implement was at hand, to make an attempt to stay the progress of the flames. But the attempt was hopeless. By two o'clock in the afternoon the fire had spread eastward to Courtenay Bay and north to what is now known as Jeffrey's Hill. Soon it leaped across the intervening valley and thence onward until the flames had lapped the water of the Kennebeccasis River destroying in their path, several miles in width, almost everything that would burn with the exception of one house. This was not saved by water, but by digging trenches around it.

Shortly after this disaster which retarded the progress of the now prosperous city of St. John, a large number of the Loyalists who had drawn lots in the city and on which they had built the log houses which were destroyed, moved to the country and occupied lands which were soon converted into flourishing farms.

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THE NEWFOUNDLAND OF TO-DAY.

By the Rev. M. Harvey, LL. D.

It is curious and instructive to note the contrast between the condition of Newfoundland at the opening and close of the nineteenth century. When the last sands of the eighteenth century were running out the colony was still under the repressive system which had obstructed its growth from the outset. It was regarded by the Imperial Government as a fishing station and a training post for seamen for the Royal Navy, not as a home for a civilized community. It was governed by naval commanders who enforced the laws with the sternest quarter-deck discipline. These laws prohibited settlement in the island, refused all grants of land for cultivation or building sites, and reserved the shores for the use of migratory fishermen who came from England in the spring and were compelled to return at the close of each fishing season. No right of private property in land was permitted, unless actually employed in the fisheries. The governors of those days were in the habit of returning to England each winter and re-appearing at the opening of summer. If they found on their return that any one had erected a fence round a piece of ground during their absence, or built a house with a chimney, they issued orders for their immediate removal. Such repressive measures were actually enforced by Governor Waldegrave in 1799; and the nineteenth century was eleven years old before restrictions against the cultivation of land and the building of dwelling-houses were finally abolished.

At the date referred to, the total population of the island was under 20,000 people, who were scattered in small hamlets around the shores. St. John's, the capital, contained about 3,000 people who were sheltered in wooden huts, huddled together in such a way as to be in continual danger of fire. The principal thoroughfare was in one place not more than six feet wide. All the streets were narrow, unpaved and unlighted. The condition of the people in the smaller and more remote fishing settlements was deplorable. Successive generations lived and died without education and almost without any religious teaching. The lives of the people under these cruel and senseless laws were rendered hard and often miserable for the express purpose

of driving them away and preventing a settled population from growing up. As to the interior of the island, it was reported to be a great dismal swamp, with here and there patches of rocks and bogs, and in some places covered with a low scrub — a repulsive region unfit for the habitation of civilized man.

These bad old times have passed away; and at the close of the nineteenth century what a marvellous change for the better do we see! St. John's has grown into a city of 30,000 inhabitants. Its streets are lighted by electricity, and seamed with an electric street railway. It possesses all the appliances of modern civilization — railways, telegraphs, telephones, fire-brigades, water and sewerage. Its cathedrals, churches and public buildings, its banks, shops, stores, wharves, compare not unfavorably with those of any other city of the same size. A memorial tower in honour of John Cabot crowns Signal Hill, at the entrance of the harbour. The hum of manufacturing industry is heard on all hands. A busy population throngs its streets. Its harbour is a forest of masts, and steamships are constantly arriving and departing. The strutting quarter-deck governors and the rough old "fishing admirals"— where are they? Gone to the chambers of oblivion, as will go also all who now walk its streets and carry on its life activities ere the new century has run its course. "We are such stuff as dreams are made of."

But perhaps the change in this great island itself is more striking than even in its capital. Its winter seems over and gone, and the voice of the locomotive is heard in the solitudes of the interior. The great dismal swamp has turned out to be a fair island, with waving forests, fertile plains, rich in mineral treasures, and containing some of the finest scenery in this beautiful world. Nearly seven hundred miles of railway now seam its surface, connecting together its various centres of population, while a steam ferry links it to the neighboring continent, thus bringing it within the comity of nations, and rendering its natural resources accessible. From afar come streams of tourists, travellers, health-seekers, worshippers of the beautiful, who return to celebrate the wonders of this newly-found land. The sportsman in pursuit of the stately deer, and the quiet angler seeking salmon and trout, are found tramping over its "barrens," or along its lakes and rivers. The smoke-dried denizen of the great city comes to drink in its health-giving breezes and restore the iron to his blood. One and all proclaim, "Here is the Norway of the New World."

But the colony has attractions for more than health and pleasure-seekers. Capitalists in increasing numbers are finding their way to its shores. As a mineral-producing country it has already taken a high place. It can boast of one of the finest iron mines in the world, which was discovered only three years ago on Bell Isle, Conception Bay, about twelve miles from St. John's. A portion of the deposit was sold lately to the Dominion Iron and Steel Company for a million dollars, and it is estimated by experts to contain forty million tons of red hematite ore. The remaining portion is owned by the New Glasgow Steel Company, and is probably of not less value. In some respects the mine is unique. The ore, containing fifty-four per cent of iron, is deposited in horizontal strata extending over an area three miles in length and nearly half a mile in breadth. The remarkable feature of the ore is that it is not in solid masses but small rhomboidal pieces of various sizes, none exceeding twelve inches in length. There is no need of shafts or tunnels or complicated machinery. It is worked as an open quarry, with crow-bars, pick-axes, and occasional charges of dynamite to loosen the masses. When taken from the bed it falls into these rhomboidal forms, and the cost of putting it on board does not exceed twenty-five cents per ton. It is not known that there is anywhere a similar deposit of iron ore. It occurs in the Lower Silurian formation. Shipping it at the rate of four thousand tons a day would require more than twenty years to exhaust what is now in sight, and to what depth the deposit may extend is at present unknown. Geologists are at present divided in opinion as to how this marvellous deposit took place—some holding that it has been separated from the Archæan parent rock by the action of water, and then crystallized by chemical action; while others think both chemical and mechanical agencies were combined in its production. Possibly some ancient eruption may have brought it near the surface.

Among copper-producing countries Newfoundland occupies the sixth place. Indeed, the commencement of the new progressive era dates from 1864, when the first copper mine was opened at Tilt Cove, in the northeast of the island, on the shore of Notre Dame Bay. It was the first, and it has also proved to be the best, copper mine yet discovered. During the first twelve years it yielded 49,719 tons of copper ore and 411 tons of nickel, the value being $1,572,154. It has been worked for thirty-four years and shows no sign of exhaustion.

Last year the shareholders had a net profit of £70,000. A number of other copper mines were soon discovered in the same neighborhood, and were worked vigorously, so that at the close of 1879 the total value of the copper export had reached $4,629,880. The report of Mr. J. P. Howley, Director of the Geological Survey, shows that the total value of the copper ore exported from 1888 to 1898 was $5,907,-638. The total value of copper ore since its first discovery must therefore have exceeded ten and a half million dollars in value. Mr. Howley gives $7,829,158 as the value of all minerals exported during the ten years preceding 1899. Of this $1,502,260 was realized from the export of iron pyrites.

Magnetic iron ore and chrome iron have been found on the west coast under very promising conditions; while there are in various places indications of silver and lead, and latterly of gold-bearing quartz. Only the fringe of the mineral deposits of the island has yet been touched.

And it holds not only minerals but other economic materials, which are likely to prove of great value. One of these is roofing slate, and of this the island contains a larger quantity and a finer quality than any other country on this side of the Atlantic. A company with a large capital has recently opened a slate quarry at Smith's Sound, Trinity Bay. It is pronounced by one of the most eminent geologists of the day to be one of the finest slate deposits in the world, equal to the finest Carnarvonshire slate in Wales. The best slate deposits in Wales are now approaching exhaustion; and slate capitalists are looking to Newfoundland, where the deposits are inexhaustible, for supplies. Of gypsum there are numerous deposits of the finest quality on the west coast, especially at Romanes' Brook, St. George's Bay, which is to be soon worked. In Codroy, also, there are immense deposits.

Lumbering is extending every year and now contributes a large export. Recently an eminent Scotch lumberer has removed all his men and plant from Sweden, where he had been operating for years, to Newfoundland, where he has secured 800 square miles of forest lands, and will carry on a very large lumbering trade.

As a pulp manufacturing country the island is destined to take a high place. Vast areas are covered with the very best materials for pulp making. Arrangements are in progress for the erection of a

pulp factory at Grand Lake, on a gigantic scale; and on Black River, Placentia Bay, a pulp establishment has been worked for some time. The island may not become a great agricultural country, but there are millions of acres which will in time become excellent arable and grazing lands, capable of supporting many thousands in comfort.

The famous fisheries of Newfoundland have long constituted the staple industry on which the bulk of the people depend for their daily bread. The average annual value of the shore fishery is about $4,500,000. The value of the Labrador fishery is $1,200,000; of the bank fishery, $100,000; of the herring fishery, $200,000; of the lobster fishery, $600,000. The total value of the fish products is $7,000,000 per annum.

The annual revenue of the colony is about $1,500,000; the funded debt $16,485,760. The value of the exports is five to six million dollars; of the imports six to seven million dollars.

On the whole, Newfoundland, at the close of the century, can reckon up her gains with satisfaction, and accept these as pledges and promises of better things to come. Old things have passed away and better things have come. The country is one of freedom's homes—free thought, free speech, free worship. All the marks of advancing civilization are apparent.

Education is receiving that attention its paramount importance demands. Religious ministrations are adequate to the wants of the people. All the great appliances to secure material advance are multiplying. It can enter on the new era without any misgivings and with much that is bright and hopeful.

CANADIAN NOBILITY OF THE FRENCH EPOCH.

By F. G. Forsaith de Fronsac.

Nobility in Canada was created by the kings Henry the Great and Louis XIV., for the purpose of recognizing that merit among the inhabitants which distinguishes heroic souls, and always is the bulwark of nationality, order and honour. The first commission by the king, given to the Marquis de la Roche, Governor and General of Canada, enabled him to nominate for titles, "gentlemen, and those whom he

will judge men of merit, to fiefs, seigneuries, chatelleries, counties, viscounties, baronies, and other dignities derived from us, on the responsibility that they guard in tuition and defence the said country."[1] There were two kinds of titles granted. One was territorial only—as seigneur—corresponding to the English lord of a manor. King Louis XIV. organized the seigneurs into an order of nobility for Canada in 1663, from which date every seigneur received his investiture at the castle of St. Louis, at Quebec, promising fealty, and to maintain the honour of the crown. He was granted for this purpose the powers of a magistrate within his fief, and the military captaincy over his tenants, whom he was to drill and lead in the defence of the country. He could sell his seigneury with the king's consent, giving one-fifth of the purchase money to the crown. The consent of the next heir was also necessary; otherwise the seigneury passed hereditarily from father to son without any dues to the crown. But if direct heirs were lacking, the next heir, being a collateral, paid one year's rent to the crown on his succession. The title of seigneur, or lord of the manor, passed with the seigneury, or manor. A family, formerly holding a seigneury only, had the right of adding the name of the seigneury to the family name, like Le Jardens + de St. Pierre. And the family always is reckoned as noble or seigneurial ever after. There were nearly two hundred seigneuries granted by the various kings of France in Canada from the earliest to the latest time. The rights and privileges of a seigneur are continued in those places in Canada where seigneuries yet exist (with the exception of the civil and military powers), according to the solemn pledge of Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris of 1763, which ceded Canada on the part of France to the king of England.

The other sort of title granted by the kings of France in Canada was personal and hereditary as well as territorial. These titles are equivalent to duke (duc), marquis, earl (comte), viscount (vicomte), baron and baronet. A list of these will be valuable, as they have rights of precedence at the court of the Governor-General of Canada, guaranteed them by the thirty-seventh Article of the above mentioned Treaty of Paris, of 1763, which are as valid as the charter by which the Governor-General himself holds power, and more so, because irrevocable.

[1] Lareau Hist. du Droit Canadien, Tome I. p. 159.

Family Name.	Title.	Present Possessor.
Jean Law, Minister of Finance to Louis XIV.	Duc d'Arkansas, in Louisiana.	Unknown to writer.
François M. L. d'Albergati	Marquis de Vezza, French and Canadian, 1760.	In Quebec.
Michel Chartier.	Marquis de Lotbinière and Alainville, by Louis XVI., 1789, Canad'n	Sir H. G. Joli de Lotbinière.
Pierre Dandonneau.	Marquis du Sablé, 16—, Canadian.	Unknown to writer.
Philippe de Rigaud.	Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor in 1698, Canadian and French.	" "
Pierre de Rigaud.	Comte de Cavagnial, 1743, French and Canadian.	" "
Jacques Simard.	Comte de Ramusqué, 1744, Canad'n	In Province of Quebec.
Louis Liénard.	Comte de Beaujeu, French and Canadian, 1700.	In Montreal.
Pierre L. de Rastel.	Comte de Rocheblave, French and Canadian, 1750.	In Montreal.
F. Talon, Canadian Minister of Louis XIV.	Comte d'Orsainville, Canadian.	Unknown to writer.
	Comte de l'Isle d'Orleans, mentioned by Lareau in Droit Canadien	" "
François P. Douglas.	Comte de Douglas, French and Canadian, 1760.	" "
Nicolas Denys, Governor 1654.	Vicomte de Fronsac, French and Canadian, 1676.	F. G. Forsaith de Fronsac.
Charles Le Moyne.	Baron de Longüeuil, Canadian, 1700.	Grant de Longüeuil.
Jean V. d'Abbadie.	Baron de St. Castin, French and Canadian, 1688.	Bourbon de St. Castin.
Réné Robineau.	Baron de Portneuf and Becancour, Canadian, 1652.	In Quebec Province.
	Baron de Beauville, mentioned in Lareau's Hist. du Droit Canadien.	Unknown to writer.
Guillaume de Caen.	Baron du Cap Tourmente, Canada, 1599.	" "
Alphonse de Tonty.	Baron de Paludy, French and Canadian, 1700.	" "
Gaspard Chaussegrosse.	Baron de Léry, French and Canadian, 1760.	" "
Claude Turgis de St. Etienne de la Tour.	Baronet of Nova Scotia, By King James I. of England.	In the Bradstreet family.

The pedigrees of these families, with their titles, are found in Tanguay's Dictionnaire Genealogique du Canada; Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, and Les Grandes Familles Canadiennes; while historical sketches abound in the histories by Garneau, Charlevoix, Ferland, Dionne, and Le Droit Canadien, by Lareau.

THE GEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE BAY OF FUNDY.

By Prof. L. W. Bailey, Ph.D.

Surely no reader of Acadian history, especially no reader of these historical leaflets, needs to be reminded of the associations which cluster around the Bay of Fundy. Lying, as a great water-wedge, between the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, forming no inconsiderable portion of the borders of each, and receiving on its rocky shores the waters of the St. John and other important streams, it could hardly fail to have been intimately associated with the earliest events in the settlement of the country, as well as in the subsequent struggles for its possession and control. The first explorations of Champlain and his companions, the terrible winter spent on the little island in the St. Croix, the jovial meetings of the Knights of the Good Time at Port Royal, the romantic adventures of Madame La Tour, the conflicts around the walls of old Fort Cumberland at the head of the Bay, the piratical expeditions of Argall and others, are topics familiar to every reader of Canadian history or literature.

But, interesting as are the events associated with the Bay of Fundy during the Historic Period, it must not be supposed that these comprise the whole, or even any very large part, so far as time is concerned, of the real history of the bay. When the first Europeans landed upon its shores they found them already occupied by other races, destined to play an important part in the struggles to which reference has been made, some of whose descendants still live among us, and to whose language we are still indebted for the names of many of our best known mountains, lakes and rivers. Who knows when and whence they came to this part of America? and, granting that they are but branches of the old Algonquin stock, of which other branches survive in other parts of the continent, what do we know of the origin of these? Again, have we any right to assume that, as regards even its geographic and climatic features, the Acadia of pre-historic times was in every respect the same as the Acadia of to-day? And how did there come to be any Bay of Fundy at all? How can we account for its distinctive features, its form, its depth, its wonderful tidal phenomena, the contrasts between its northern and southern shores, the peculiarities of its flora and fauna? Has the Bay of Fundy

always been essentially as it is at present, or is it the final result of a process of historical development of which it is possible for us to decipher some, at least, of the progressive stages?

To do this, in some small degree, is the purpose of the present paper; and though in making the attempt we shall, like the mariner upon the present bay, find ourselves not unfrequently enveloped in well-nigh impenetrable fog, and find it necessary to pause a while for further light, we must not be discouraged; for we are not wholly without a guide. As the pilot of the "Prince Rupert," leaving the harbour of St. John, when it is hardly possible to see one end of the steamer from the other, and knowing that he will have to encounter winds and currents which constantly tend to sway him from his course, yet points and keeps his way with confidence to the narrow inlet of Digby Gut, bounded by rocky walls, to strike which would be certain destruction, so the geologist has also *his* compass and charts, and, like Champlain and his associates, is not only not afraid, but finds a delight in exploring unknown seas, and finding lands unheard of before.

First, then, let us see whether even in comparatively recent times the Bay of Fundy has remained entirely unchanged. For if it is possible for us to prove the fact of such change, and to determine its causes, it will be much easier for us to recognize the operation of these same causes in earlier times.

One of the most obvious of the changes referred to is to be found in the *waste of the present shores.* Who can skirt the latter by sail or steamer without seeing that the features which determine their variety and sublimity, the alternation of rocky headland and narrow indentation, of overhanging bluff and darksome cavern, of rocky islets and half-submerged ledges, are the results of a process of *wear*, evidences of the unceasing attempts of old ocean, working through waves and tides and currents, to invade and to subdue the land? The conflict is one which never ceases, and though at any one time we may be unable to measure the result, we have only to study some limited area of the coast, especially where the conditions are favorable, to find that even in the course of a few years very considerable changes may be brought about. One admirable locality for such studies is the vicinity of Quaco, or St. Martins, where the soft red sandstones which here skirt the bay exhibit some wonderful illustrations of sea-

sculpture, and where the writer, after an interval of only a few years, found an entire alteration in all the more prominent details of the coastal scenery. The vicinity of Hopewell Cape is another well-known locality. And finally, should one, tempted by the rich mineral harvest to be there gathered, venture to walk or sail beneath the precipitous bluffs of Blomidon, and see the thousands of tons of rock lying shattered on the shore below, he will probably see also reason to be thankful that he was not there in the early spring, at which time these gigantic slides are most apt to fall.

But obviously what is thus gained from the land and contributed to the sea must be disposed of. And here is another source of change. To understand this disposition we have only to walk along any extended line of coast and to mark the deposits which are there in course of accumulation, great sea-walls made of huge rounded blocks where the shore is exposed to the full fury of the sea, pebbly or sandy beaches where the waves have less power, fine muds in sheltered bays or in off-shore shallow soundings. And it is important to notice that such deposits always tell the story of their origin. They could not be formed anywhere else than upon a coast line, certainly not in the deep sea; and hence the features which they present, once noticed, become a key wherewith we can recognize similar coast lines, even though these may belong to the most remote ages of the past. The finer muddy sediments are especially instructive in this way. As exposed in the great tidal flats at the head of the modern bay, one cannot but be surprised to see what a wonderful record they keep of every change to which they are subjected: in one place raised in little ridgelets, marking the advance or retreat of the tide, in another furrowed with little channels produced by the rills which follow the breaking of the waves, here honeycombed with cracks, due to the drying action of the sun when the tide was out, and here, it may be, covered with little pits, produced by the drops of a passing shower. Almost everywhere are they marked by the long trails or the vertical borings of marine worms, to which not unfrequently are to be added the easily-recognized footprint of a bird, or even of man himself; while now and then a stranded shell, a bunch of sea-weed, or a half-buried log, illustrates how such deposits may become the burial place of what once were living creatures.

But evidently these processes of wear and re-distribution, if un-

affected by other considerations, must in time reach their limit. The land must lose in height and extent; the bay must shallow or become filled up. In one way only can the work be prolonged, viz., by changes of level in land and sea, the lifting of the one or the sinking of the other. Have we any evidence of such changes as being now in progress in or about the Bay of Fundy? Well, it is said that from time to time it is found necessary to build higher the dykes which at the head of the bay are the farmers' sole bulwark against the advancing sea; but stronger evidence even than this is to be found in the occurrence of the remains of upland trees which must have flourished long before any dykes existed at points where, were it not for these dykes, they would now be daily submerged. Again, upon the coast of Charlotte County are to be seen the shell-heaps which mark the site of old Indian encampments, not only in positions which would now be wholly unsuited for such use, but which in some instances have been largely removed by the inroads of the sea. Dr. Gesner, the first prominent student of Acadian geology, thought that one side of the bay was rising, the other sinking; but, however this may be, it is certain that such changes, recognizable only after the lapse of years, are in progress here as elsewhere, and that in time they must produce very material difference in the depth and configuration of the bay.

One point more and we shall have the data necessary to enable us to go back from the present and to determine some of the earlier events in the history of the bay. Fortunately, in this part of the world, though familiar with the effects of water and of frost, we are never called upon to contemplate that other dire agent of geological change, which in such countries, as that of Italy, Mexico, or the East Indies, is a constant menace to the inhabitants—the agency of fire. Yet we shall presently see that this part of the world has not always been exempt from volcanic action; and in trying to discipher our past history, we must always be prepared to recognize its effects. In this there is no difficulty; for the rocks produced by volcanic eruptions or overflows are widely different in their nature and arrangement from the rocks owing their origin to the sorting action of water, and once seen can always be readily recognized.

Now, then, for our story of the history of the Bay. It is a long story, dating back, according to conservative estimates, for at least

fifty millions of years! Obviously we can only deal with great periods at a time, and even of these give only the most general outline. The studies of various explorers are daily adding to our knowledge of the details, but to give anything like a full account, even of one single period in the history, is, and will ever be, beyond the power of man.

What was the condition of what we now call the Bay of Fundy in the first recognizable era of its formation? Well, it was not then a bay at all. A bay requires two sides, and of those which now enclose old Fundy it is tolerably certain that one is much older than the other. At least, while we have good evidence that its northern side, forming the highlands of southern New Brunswick, was determined, and in very nearly its present site, by upheavals dating back to the most remote period of which we have any knowledge, it is quite certain that its southern side, if there was one, did not occupy its present position, and has nothing to represent it in the present province of Nova Scotia. The proof of these statements is easily found. In the case of the northern side, the ridge, now much lower than it once was, which stretches east and west from the harbor of St. John, or rather from the Suspension Bridge, and whose characters may be well studied in Rockwood Park, or better, in the Narrows of the St. John river, above Indiantown, is found to be composed of rocks evidently of aqueous origin, and therefore originally deposited as horizontal sediments,— sands, clays, and beds of lime, but now folded and crumpled in a most marvellous manner, and at the same time showing evidences of intense alteration—what were once sands being represented by hard quartzites, the clays by roofing slates, and the lime-beds by marbles; while surrounding these same ridges, and enclosing them as though they were islands, are other beds which, though also highly disturbed, are much less so than the former, and which show abundant evidences (the same as have been above explained) that they are old beach deposits. These are the rocks upon which has been built the city of St. John, and almost anywhere in its streets it is possible to find the same evidences, in the way of fossil wave marks, rill marks, sun cracks, and stranded shells, of their littoral origin as are to be found only a short distance away upon the modern coast. They indicate very clearly that land was near at the time of their origin; and though we cannot now speak with certainty of the height or extent of that land, we can hardly doubt that the great ridge to which

I have referred, embracing the larger part of the county with much of Albert, formed a portion of it. Probably there were other similar ridges further north, such as that forming the peninsula of Kingston, and some corresponding to the present highlands of northern New Brunswick, but around and between these lay the primeval ocean.

It has been supposed by some writers that the southern, as well as the northern side of the bay, dates from the same period, and is to be recognized by the same sort of evidence; but a careful study, as based upon recent investigations, tends to show that nowhere in the province of Nova Scotia, except in Cape Breton, are there any rocks as old as those which now overlook the waters of the bay along the New Brunswick shore. Yet rocks which are believed to be the equivalents of what we have described as beach-rocks around these old ridges near St. John, do occur in Nova Scotia, being those in which gold is so extensively found along its southern side, and they afford the same evidences of shallow water origin. It would therefore seem to be probable that the land which they bordered, and from which their material was derived, lay to the eastward, and is now submerged beneath the waters of the Atlantic

Before leaving this chapter of our history it is interesting to notice that among the deposits which constitute the hill ranges along the northern border of the bay the abundance of what are evidently volcanic materials is especially remarkable. One has only to visit some of the great limestone quarries near St. John (especially Stetson's, near Indiantown, or that at Green Head,) to see in what a curious way and to what an extent what was evidently at one time melted rock has come up through the limestone strata, forming great black walls or dykes, and through the accompanying heat altering these same rocks into marbles, or filling them along the lines of contact with garnets or other crystalline minerals; while to the east of St. John, especially about Willow Grove, and in the neighborhood of Loch Lomond, the country for miles consists of what at one time must have been the outpourings of lava floods, or the accumulation of volcanic ashes. It will presently appear that this feature characterizes the Bay of Fundy trough in various epochs of its history, and is no doubt connected with the origination of the trough itself.

We must now drop the curtain to lift it again, after an interval of

great but unknown duration, upon a condition of things widely different from that which we have endeavored to describe.

So far as mere geography is concerned, the change in New Brunswick was mainly one affecting the height of the land, the old ridge referred to as forming the northern border of the bay being where it was, and still is; but now for the first time, so far as we can clearly see, were the waters of the latter confined by a southern as well as a northern barrier, thus causing the trough to approximate more nearly to its present form and proportions. Yet its southern side was not the present north coast of Nova Scotia. For the North Mountains, which now extend from Blomidon to Digby Neck, and shut in from the waters of the bay the Annapolis Basin and Land of Evangeline, were not there; while along the southern side of that basin, along the slopes of the South Mountains, as at Bear River, Clementsport, Torbrook and Wolfville, one can easily gather in countless numbers the shells, corals and other forms of marine life which up to this time had flourished there. But these fossiliferous strata, belonging to what are known as the Silurian and Devonian systems, and which, like all similar strata, are simply old mud and sand beds now hardened into rock, and whose position when formed must have been nearly or quite horizontal, are now sharply inclined and folded; while breaking through them, and sending here and there into them great veins of similar material, are the granites which form the back-bone of this portion of the Nova Scotian peninsula. This back-bone, then, including what are known as the South Mountains, dates from the latter part of the Devonian age; and the elevation of this ridge, with which the elevation of the Nerepis range in New Brunswick was contemporaneous, fixed for the time being the position of the southern border of the bay. Though somewhat wider than now, including, as above stated, the whole of the Annapolis Valley, the bay was probably shallower; and if closed, as seems probable, at its eastern end, would have had something of the character of an extensive estuary. Moreover, into this estuary, upon the New Brunswick side, there is some reason to suppose that a stream or river of some size emptied, a stream which may mark the first beginnings of the River St. John. At least about the site of the modern Lepreau, the sandstones which there represent the Devonian age are filled with the now petrified remains of forest trees, in such numbers and so piled together as to

indicate that they might have been drifted there by the floods of some ancient stream and stranded in the sand bars about its mouth.

This latter occurrence suggests another important difference between the age of which we are speaking and that with which we commenced. In the latter such tracts as lay above the primeval waters were bare and forbidding, no vegetation, unless it may have been of mosses and lichens, clothing their rugged surfaces; and hence, for want of food, untenanted by any forms of terrestrial animal life. Now there was abundant verdure, and though the plants included none of our ordinary shade and fruit trees, but mainly ferns and conifers, they probably formed dense forests; and attached to the leaves of these, now enclosed in solid rock, may be found, not only at Lepreau, but on the Bay Shore at Carleton, the remains of the insect forms which mark the early beginnings of this interesting type of life.

The next period in our history saw a somewhat different condition of things. It was at its beginning a time of subsidence rather than of elevation. Everywhere the land stood lower than now, and much of what is now above the sea level was then below it. The borders of the bay, as already defined, were still there; but on the New Brunswick side the southern hills had so far sunken that only their higher summits still rose above the waters, while towards the head of the bay, Shepody Mountain, now having an elevation above tide-level of nearly one thousand feet, was completely submerged. So, in Nova Scotia, the waves rose high on the slopes of the Cobequids and South Mountains, reducing our sister province to an archipelago of low islands, while Prince Edward Island, the Magdalens, etc., formed a portion of the ocean's floor. It is interesting to notice that in connection with this subsidence, as in the case of those previously described, volcanic activity was a marked feature of the area, the igneous rocks being curiously intermingled with the clays, sands and limestone strata of the time, but most abundant towards its close. As in other instances, the strata are abundantly fossiliferous; but the forms are mainly those of the sea, such as corals and shells, the former being of special interest as indicating the sub-tropical temperature of our coastal waters. With the corals and shells were also fishes; and in connection with these a curious little episode of the era is indicated by the countless thousands of these removed, often from a depth of many hundreds of

feet, during the development of the old Albert mine, near the head of the bay, in Albert County. It is difficult to understand how such vast numbers of fishes, packed literally like herring in a barrel, could thus have been entombed; but the fact that, within the memory of the writer, the shore of Passamaquoddy Bay, about the mouth of the Magaguadavic River, was on one occasion so thickly strewed with dead fishes that the rocks were buried beneath them and farmers for weeks hauled them away by cartloads for manure, indicates that such catastrophes are not unknown even in modern times.

I have said that the era of which I am now speaking was at its beginning an era of subsidence. But the history of old mother earth is like that of a pendulum—the downward is always followed by an upward movement, and so the progress of time becomes recorded. How long the period of depression lasted, we know not. It may have been thousands or tens of thousands of years. We know that it was long enough to wear away and to re-distribute many hundreds of feet of rock—those which now form the Minister's Face, opposite Rothesay, and the picturesque hills in the vicinity of Sussex—to say nothing of the great limestone and plaster beds of Hillsborough and Windsor; but at last the sinking ceased, or rather the processes of subsidence and of sedimentation became more nearly balanced. Oscillations of level ensued, in connection with which there was a gradual extension of dry land, a partial or complete filling up of the old valleys; and a replacement of marine conditions by those of low hills and extensive intervening marshes. These were the marshes of the coal era, and over their surface spread the dense vegetation, which, buried from time to time by floods laden with detritus and thus subjected to exclusion of air as well as to enormous pressure, were gradually converted into beds of coal. One such great swamp covered not only all the still low tract of central New Brunswick, including the counties of Queens, Sunbury, Kent, etc., but probably the whole area now occupied by the Gulf of St. Lawrence; while across what is now the isthmus of Chignecto this was connected with another, occupying much of the Bay of Fundy trough, and possibly extending to eastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island. It was probably the St. Lawrence, then finding its way by many meandering channels to the ocean, that supplied the water necessary for the accumulation of the deposits; while the

fact that the great Joggins section upon the Nova Scotia coast shows a thickness of not less than 14,000 feet, including seventy-six seams of coal, each of which must have been successively formed at the surface, is at once not only an evidence of the fact of such accumulation, but an indication of the vast periods of time required in the process.

It would be interesting, were time and space available, to dwell at some length upon the details of the Joggins section, and the information which it affords of the conditions of the era, as regards its climate, plants and animals; but it is only possible here to say in a general way that those conditions were not greatly unlike those to be found to-day in the great Dismal Swamp of North Carolina, except that no trees higher than the conifers were yet present, and the highest animals were semi-aquatic reptiles. With their wealth of ferns, including tree-ferns, as well as the ordinary herbaceous forms, there was not wanting the element of beauty in the forests of the time, but without butterflies, birds, or any of the familiar forms of mammalian life, without any flowers more conspicuous than those of pines and yews, with the light largely shut out by the density of the vegetable growth, and with pestilential vapours arising from sluggish streams or stagnant pools, one would hardly feel tempted to penetrate very far into their gloomy recesses. But they were not intended for man's habitation, and no member of the human family was on hand to complain of their solitude. It was for the benefit of future races that their work was being done. It was then that those vast stores of solar energy were being laid up, which, in after times, set free in an infinitude of forms, was to become not only the support of the human race, but the determining factor in its development. But other scenes await us and we must hurry on.

Our next view is one of special interest in connection with the history of the Bay of Fundy, for it is essentially confined to the latter, and illustrates one of the most important phases of its growth. It represents a period immediately following that of the coal era, last described; but between the two an epoch of disturbance intervened, changing the relative level of various tracts, dislocating the disturbed strata, determining profound fractures, and leaving the coal beds in that tilted position which, more especially in Nova Scotia, has brought the deeper beds to the surface, and thus enor-

mously facilitated their removal. But such disturbances are usually followed by the escape of heat or heated materials from the earth's interior, and such escape was the predominant feature of the new red sandstone era, which now claims our attention. The "new red" sandstones are those of the Annapolis Valley; but mingled with and resting upon them are the black slag-like rocks and ash-beds of the North Mountains, the great ridge extending from Blomidon to Briar Island, and so familiar to travellers as revealed in the transverse break of Digby Gut. These are simply old lava flows, the results of fissure eruptions in the subsiding trough of the bay, and to the conditions of their origin, at one time soft and filled with the vapour of steam and sulphurous gases, are to be ascribed their vesicular structure and the wonderful variety of beautiful minerals with which they are charged.

Thus for the first time did the bay acquire its present borders. Then was determined the beautiful scenery of the Basin of Minas. Then Isle Haute first lifted its head so boldly above the waters. Then also Grand Manan, with its remarkable range of cliffs overlooking the swirling tides, first became enveloped in the fogs of which it is reputed to be the breeder.

How difficult to realize, even in imagination, the existence in this part of the world of these old volcanic fires. And they are the more interesting for the reason that with a single exception they practically close, so far as this part of America is concerned, the geological record, while between them and the era thus excepted a greater contrast could hardly be possible. For while the new red (or triassic) era was, as we have said, one in which *heat* was a predominant factor, that which remains to be described was an era not only of exceptional but also of almost inconceivable *cold*. It was the glacial era, or great geological winter, a winter so prolonged and so intense that New Brunswick, with much of North America, became reduced to the present condition of Greenland. All vegetation, except of the very lowest grades, necessarily perished. All forms of animal life, except such as by migration could reach warmer latitudes, shared the same fate. Hills and valleys alike became buried beneath hundreds, perhaps thousands, of feet of snow; and this, by its own weight, became largely converted into ice. Moreover, this ice was in motion, as is the case now with the great ice-

cap of Greenland, and in its movement pressed heavily on the supporting surface, sometimes polishing this latter in the case of hard and resisting rocks; sometimes planing, grooving, scoring or ploughing the beds beneath, as may be seen in almost any part of New Brunswick or Nova Scotia; sometimes again detaching great blocks to be imbedded in and carried by the ice, and finally dropping these as boulders, often scores of miles from their parent beds. Of course the Bay of Fundy was affected by these changes, and as the land probably stood much higher than at present, thus shallowing the bay, it is altogether probable that the ice filled it to its bottom, and that the great glacier of the mainland extended across to and covered the peninsula of Nova Scotia, its southern or Atlantic edge being perhaps not far from Sable Island.

Why there should have been such an era of excessive cold, when it began, how long it lasted, and what determined its close, are all interesting questions, upon which much has been written, but of which space forbids the discussion here. It may, however, be well to say that the disappearance of the ice, like its oncoming, was gradual; and that its final removal was in all probability coincident with the first appearance of man. It is also important to notice that the return to warmer conditions was coincident with, if not determined by, a return of the earth's surface to its former level, or rather to a point considerably below it. As the result of this depression, not only did the ice melt away, and by melting give to our rivers enormously increased breadth and volume, but the sea again invaded the land, again changing greatly the geographical outlines of the continent. Much of the interior of New Brunswick was now submerged, whales disported in Lake Champlain, the St. Lawrence at Montreal was some fifty miles wide, the isthmus of Chignecto was submerged, and no ship-railway was needed to allow of free passage from Northumberland Straits into the Bay of Fundy. The North Mountains of Nova Scotia, of course, stood much lower than now, and star-fishes and other forms of marine life freely traversed the Annapolis Valley, where the writer has gathered their remains in the vicinity of Middleton. Even at St. John, similar remains are to be found in the brick clays, out of which much of the city has been built. The maximum submergence along the New Brunswick coast was probably about two hundred feet,

and the fact that marine beds, in the form of elevated beaches, now skirt the southern hills to the height mentioned, not only proves the submergence, but gives also a measure of the re-elevation which has since occurred.

I have said that the beginning of these latter movements or oscillations was contemporaneous with the first advent of man; and the weight of authority goes to show that that advent was at least 10,000 years ago. A recent article by Dr. Matthew, entitled, "A Forest Fire in St. John 2,000 Years Ago," is an admirable illustration of the method by which computations of this kind are made, and should stimulate students to the undertaking of similar enquiries. But if 10,000 years takes us back, in the history of the Bay of Fundy, only to the dawn of the human period, what shall we say of the eras which preceded the latter, and almost any one of which exceeded it by many hundred times?

THE FIRST MARTYR OF THE CANADIAN MISSION.

By Rev. W. O. Raymond, M.A.

The year 1632 saw the commencement of the Jesuit mission in Canada and the beginning of the most dramatic period in Canadian history. True, the Jesuit fathers Biard and Massé were at Port Royal at an earlier period (1611–1613), but their sojourn was too brief to produce any permanent result, and must be regarded largely as one of the passing episodes of Acadian history. Lallement and a few companions of the Order of Jesus came to Quebec in 1625, and were joined the next year by Noyrot and DeNouë, but the war with England and the capture of Quebec by Kirke obliged the party to return to France. It was not until the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye that the way was clear for the establishment on a solid basis of the Canadian mission.

It is foreign to this paper to consider the nature and objects of the Order of the Society of Jesus—much less to attempt to rehearse the heroic deeds and sacrifices of the Jesuit missionaries in the wilds of North America. Parkman and others have told the thrilling story, with which all students of Canadian history should be thor-

oughly familiar—indeed the Jesuits have been their own best annalists.[1] Few in numbers but strong in spirit, they penetrated regions heretofore unexplored, eager at all hazards to convert the savage races and to propagate the dogmas of their religious faith. They feared not the hardship of mid-winter journeys. Hunger and privation did not daunt their resolute hearts; nor did they even quail before the fierce hate of the dreaded Iroquois, by whose tortures so many of their number were doomed to perish. Doubtless Brébeuf, Garnier, and others of the gallant band had their faults like other men,—nor need our eyes be blinded by the glowing relation of their deeds by their Superior of the Order of Jesus, intended for the edification and inspiration of their sympathizing friends and patrons at home. Nevertheless, making all due and fair allowance for the circumstances under which the *Relations des Jesuites* were written, the heart must be indeed callous that can read unmoved the story of their heroic devotion to duty, as they deemed it.

The first martyr of the Canadian mission was Father Anne de Nouë. He was sixty-three years of age, and had come to Canada in 1626. An indifferent memory prevented his mastering the language of the savages; he therefore devoted himself to ministering to the French and Indians about the forts, where he was able to avail himself of the services of an interpreter. He attended the sick, and in times of scarcity fished in the river or dug roots in the woods for the subsistence of his flock. "Though sprung from a noble family of Champagne," says Parkman, "he shrunk from no toil, however humble, to which his idea of duty or his vow of obedience called him."

De Nouë fell a victim, not to the cruelty of the savages, but to cold and exposure while engaged in an act of Christian kindness and charity.

Parkman gives a touching description of his death, which, with a little abbreviation, is here quoted:

The perils which beset the missionaries did not spring from the fury of the Iroquois alone, for nature herself was armed with terror in this stern wilderness of New France. On the thirtieth of January, 1646, Father Anne de Nouë set out from Three Rivers to go to the fort built by the French at the mouth

[1] See Cleveland edition "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," published by the Burrows Bros.

of the Richelieu. * * * The old missionary had for companions two soldiers and a Huron Indian. They were all on snowshoes, and the soldiers dragged their baggage on small sledges. Their highway was the St. Lawrence, transformed to solid ice, and buried, like all the country, beneath two or three feet of snow, which, far and near, glared dazzling white under the clear winter sun. Before night they had walked eighteen miles, and the soldiers, unused to snowshoes, were greatly fatigued. They made their camp in the forest on the shore of the great expansion of the St. Lawrence, called the Lake of St. Peter, dug away the snow, heaped it around the spot as a barrier against the wind, made their fire on the frozen earth in the midst, and lay down to sleep. At two o'clock in the morning DeNouë awoke. The moon shone like daylight, over the vast desert of the frozen lake, with its bordering fir trees bowed to the ground with snow; and the kindly thought struck the Father, that he might ease his companions by going in advance to Fort Richelieu, and sending back men to aid them in dragging their sledges. He knew the way well. He directed them to follow the tracks of his snowshoes in the morning; and not doubting to reach the fort before night, left behind his blanket and his flint and steel. For provisions, he put a morsel of bread and five or six prunes in his pocket, told his rosary, and set forth.

Before dawn the weather changed. The air thickened, clouds hid the moon, and a snowstorm set in. The traveller was in utter darkness. He lost the points of the compass, wandered far out on the lake, and, when day appeared, could see nothing but the snow beneath his feet, and the myriads of falling flakes that encompassed him like a curtain, impervious to the sight. Still he toiled on, winding hither and thither, and at times unwittingly circling back on his own footsteps. At night he dug a hole in the snow, under the shore of an island, and lay down without fire, food or blanket. * * * * *

The Indian the next day reached Fort Richilieu, where a handful of men kept watch and ward against the Iroquois. Seated by the blazing logs he asked for DeNouë, and, to his astonishment, the soldiers of the garrison told him that he had not been seen. The captain of the post was called; all was anxiety; but nothing could be done that night.

At daybreak parties went out to search. The two soldiers were readily found; but they looked in vain for the missionary. All day they were ranging the ice, firing their guns and shouting; but to no avail, and they returned disconsolate. * * * On the next morning two Indians and a French soldier resumed the search; and, guided by the slight depressions in the snow, which had fallen on the wanderer's footprints, the quick-eyed savages traced him through all his windings, found his camp by the shore of the island, and thence followed him beyond the fort. He had passed near without discovering it—perhaps weakness had dimmed his sight—stopped to rest at a point a

league above, and thence made his way about three leagues farther. Here they found him. He had dug a circular excavation in the snow, and was kneeling in it on the earth. His head was bare, his eyes opened and turned upwards and his hands clasped on his breast. His hat and his snowshoes lay at his side. The body was leaning slightly forward, resting against the bank of snow before it, and frozen to the hardness of marble. Thus in an act of kindness and charity, died the first martyr of the Canadian mission.

THE DEATH OF DE NOUË.[1]

By W. O. Raymond, Jr.

Around him lay the snow, the untravelled wild,
With endless rifts piled up in white array,
Swirled in a dim confusion; through the sky
Chill blinding flakes fell fast, while far and near
Swift gathering darkness half obscured the view.
On either hand the barren wilderness
Stretched far away. The ice clad pine trees tall,
Like hoary watchman, who in castle halls
All grimly guard the winding entrances,
Stood sentinel o'er all the forest waste.
No howl of wolf, no growl of ravenous bear,
Or warring shout of fiendish Iroquois
Rang through the air. All sound of life was still,
And life itself crushed in the stern embrace
Of savage winter's cold and deadening hand.
Only the icebound rill, the glassy lake,
The frozen tree, bursting with strident sound,
Mixed with the wind and formed a music drear
To echo o'er the land a dirge of death.
Did he hear these? His thoughts were far away,
Not near that circle where, in narrow space,
He knelt surrounded by the drifting snow,
Hands clasped in prayer, head bared and eyes upraised.
The wind might rage, the stormy tempest blow,
He felt them not; before him bright there shone
Angelic forms, and heavenly music played,
Grand organ pealed, and in a roseate glow
Again the sculptured arch, the nave, appeared,

[1] DeNouë was the first martyr of the Canadian Mission. See preceding article.

Where oft in wonder he was wont to bow
Before the sacred bones of Loyola.
And higher yet in heaven's high portal stood
The martyred saints, playing on psaltery sweet,
With crowns of glory—the celestial throng
To whom his earthly vows were oft addressed.
And above all, he heard the blessed tones
Of his great Master, and the sweet "Well done,
Thou faithful servant," pierced his trembling ears,
And in the light divine he passed away
To realms reserved for those who love their Lord.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

By James Hannay, D. C. L.

Responsible government is a term which has been heard more frequently on this side of the Atlantic, in the provinces which now form the Dominion of Canada, than in England, the place of its origin. The reason of this is, that while in England responsible government grew up imperceptibly, so that it was hardly possible to tell the time when it became fully recognized, in Canada, the words were the battle cry of a great political party. Under the old system that prevailed in England in the early days of parliamentary institutions, the king was usually his own minister, and the persons to whom he entrusted a portion of his duties were simply his servants. The king was, in theory, absolute, but in practice his powers were limited, because he could not obtain subsidies for the purpose of carrying on his government without the votes of parliament, and under the feudal system the great nobles were so powerful as to restrain in a large measure the authority of the crown. The Wars of the Roses ruined nearly all the ancient aristocracy of England; and the result of this was that Henry the Seventh, the first of the Tudors, although he came to the throne with an imperfect title, was more absolute than any previous sovereign had been for many generations. The power of the crown culminated in Henry the Eighth, whose title was perfect, and who had besides graces of person and manner in his youthful days which made him the favorite of the people. The reign of Edward the Sixth diminished the power of the crown somewhat; but his

successors, Mary and Elizabeth, although they had to bow to the will of parliament, exercised a considerable amount of power. The great struggle which was inevitable between the crown and parliament came to a head in the days of Charles the First, who lost both his throne and his life because he attempted to tax the people without the consent of the representatives whom they had elected. It was not until the days of Charles the Second that something like a cabinet began to be formed; but the men who composed it still regarded themselves as the servants of the king and not of the people. The accession of George the First to the throne strengthened the power of parliament, because that monarch had to rely on his ministers, as he was unable to transact the business of the country himself, as he did not understand the English language. In his reign and that of his successor, George the Second, the authority of the House of Commons was fully established, and the principle that no government can exist without the support of the House of Commons was recognized. George the Third, who was at heart as great a tyrant as Charles the First, was successful in increasing the power of the crown; but this was done by taking the people's money to purchase members of parliament who would support his policy. Still, throughout his reign, no government was able to exist for any length of time without a majority in the House of Commons, and although the principles of responsible government were perhaps not fully recognized in theory, they were firmly established in practice. The ministers were still called the king's ministers, but for all that they were responsible to the people.

The last attempt that was made by a British sovereign to govern the country in spite of parliament was that of William the Fourth in 1834, when he dismissed the Melbourne Ministry and called on the Duke of Wellington to form a new government. The new government lasted only 113 days, and the king was exposed to the humiliation of being compelled to recall the ministers whom he had dismissed with ignominy a few weeks before. Greville, in his Memoirs, laments this fact on the ground that it tended to make the government the ministers and servants of parliament, and not of the king; and this statement sufficiently shows that even at as late a period as sixty-six years ago, the principles of responsible government had hardly been fully recognized in England, or at least not to the extent to which

they afterwards attained. It is easy to see that the change which was brought about by the dependence of the ministers on the authority of parliament, instead of that of the king, amounted in a practical sense to a revolution, and entirely altered the balance of the constitution. The sovereign, from being the first power in the state, became in fact the last, because practically he was unable to prevent any legislation which his ministers chose to enact. If he resisted their authority they would leave him without a government, and, therefore, helpless. This kind of pressure was exercised upon George the Fourth in 1829, when he attempted to prevent Catholic emancipation, on the plea that to consent to a law emancipating the Catholics from the disabilities under which they suffered would be a breach of his coronation oath. He was forced to yield, although he did so most reluctantly, and even with tears, so that from that time until the present it may be considered as thoroughly established that the king cannot resist any legislation which is demanded by the people.

The system of government which prevailed in all the colonies of North America a century ago was the same. There was a legislature which was elected by the people, and there was a council which was nominated by the crown. Then there was the governor, who was the direct representative of the crown and who exercised its authority. The House of Assembly which was elected by the people controlled the public expenditure, as far as it related to the revenues received by the province. This gave that body a certain degree of authority, but owing to causes which are easily explained, this authority was much less than might have been supposed. The council, which was nominated by the crown, and the governor, who was appointed by the British government, were the great ruling forces at that time. The council then exercised legislative as well as executive functions. and absorbed most of the authority which was not assumed by the governor. The latter received his instructions from England as to the manner in which he should conduct the affairs of the province, and these instructions, which were very voluminous, embraced nearly every topic on which he was likely to find his judgment exercised. In a general way they gave him authority over a great many matters with which a governor of the present day has nothing to do. The governor virtually controlled the appointments to office, although these appointments were sometimes nominally made with the advice of his council.

When, however, there came to be a question between the council and the governor, the former always had to yield. The royal prerogative, as it was termed, was supposed to be pre-eminent and to override the wishes of both the council and the assembly. This condition of affairs, so unfavorable to the development of popular government, was greatly promoted by the fact that the governor had control of a large amount of public revenue, quite independent of either branch of the legislature. The casual and territorial revenues, which were the names given to the crown revenues derived from the crown lands of the province, and also the imperial duties, which were collected by officers appointed by the British government, were at the disposal of the governor without reference to the wishes of his advisers. The Imperial government also controlled the post office, and, though it was not a revenue-producing branch of the government, this fact still further emphasized the manner in which our affairs were governed from Downing Street.

THE CAPTIVITY OF JOHN GYLES, 1689–1698.

By Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the New York Public Library.

The narrative[1] of the captivity of John Gyles is the most authentic and earliest English account of any consequence relating to a residence in the province of New Brunswick during the seventeenth century. For the historian and ethnologist of those parts it is indispensable. The experiences and observations which he recounts happened to him from his twelfth to his twentieth year—a period in every man's life when the memory is "sticky" and the sense of observation very keen. Practically living the roving life of a savage; speaking their language; suffering their privations, and moreover their maltreatment—his young soul was crystallized to an appreciation of the reality of his surroundings. Although he was not far from sixty years of age when his little book saw the light of day, in 1736, he had long before recorded his recollections in the form of "minutes," and he was induced to put this

[1] Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, &c. In the Captivity of John Gyles, Esq. . . . Written by Himself. . . . *Boston, in N. E. Printed and Sold by S. Kneeland and T. Green.* . . . MDCCXXXVI. Small 4to; title, 1 leaf; introduction, pp. (2); text, pp. 1-40; appendix, pp. (4).

crude material into shape for publication "at the earnest Request" of his second wife, Mrs. Hannah Heath Gyles, whom he had married in 1721.

John Gyles was the third son of Judge Thomas Gyles, of Pemaquid, Maine. The father was a man of considerable influence and standing in the various precincts where from time to time he resided—at Merry-meeting Bay in Maine, at Southold in Long Island, and particularly at Pemaquid. Pious, energetic, and an upholder of the law, he showed himself an invaluable factor in moulding and forwarding the affairs of early New England. In 1689 he was the owner of a house at old Pemaquid, near Fort Charles, as well as of several scattered farms. In those days Pemaquid was looked upon as the "the key of all the eastern parts"—the bulwark of English civilization and Protestant Christianity. Fort Charles had been built in 1677 by instruction of Sir Edmund Andros. It was merely a redoubt, and was intended as a barrier against Indian incursion and French interference. But the garrison stationed there in 1689 was very weak and of a mutinous temper. Its commander, Lieut. James Weems, was not in sympathy with the authorities of Boston, with whom he exchanged some spicy correspondence. Whilst these unhappy conditions prevailed within, a greater danger threatened from without. A party of Abenaki and Maliseet Indians met in council at Pentagoet (now Castine, Maine,) and perfected plans for the extirpation of the English at Pemaquid. Father Pierre Thury, the Catholic missionary at Pentagoet—who is described as "a zealous laborer and a man of capacity"—was their leader and accompanied them in their undertaking. A plan of campaign was laid amidst appeals to heaven for success. All confessed, many received communion, and the Indians took care that their wives and children did likewise, in order, as they believed, "to raise purer hands to heaven while their fathers and husbands were combatting the heretics." Preparations proceeded amidst the orgies natural to Indian campaigning. Their hearts of iron burned with bloody hatred. They proceeded on their course in canoes down the coast and reached a place called New Harbor, about two miles from Fort Charles. Here they secreted their canoes, and moved stealthily along by land, unnoticed and undisturbed. From one John Starkey, who fell in with some of their spies on August 2nd, they learned that the elder Thomas Gyles had gone, with fourteen of his men, to his farm at Pemaquid

Falls, about three miles off; and that the other men of the town were "scattered abroad about their occasions." Thus credibly informed, the Indians resolved on an immediate attack; distributed themselves into two bands—the one going to the Falls, the other to the town close by. The attack was made at noonday, when the garrison and inhabitants were off their guard, and while there was no scout abroad. Few escaped; and of the entire Gyles family, only one, Samuel, a boy nine years of age, got within the fort. Lieut. Weems made a show of resistance, but capitulated when most of his men were killed and he himself had been badly wounded in the face by an explosion. All this time the other branch of the attacking party was causing havoc at the Falls, where they killed several in the fields, especially the elder Thomas Gyles, and made captives of several others—young John Gyles among them.

On August 4th the Indians set fire to the houses and fort; "which," says Gyles, "made a terrible Blast, and was a melancholy Sight to us poor Captives, who were sad Spectators."

The captives, to the number of about fifty, were carried to Penobscot Fort. Some of them continued there during their captivity, but others were distributed among the various tribes of the attacking party. Among the latter was the lad John Gyles, who had been captured by a Maliseet Indian of the St. John river. He was taken overland to Fort Meductic[1] (now Lower Woodstock), and lived with these Indians about six years, enduring untold suffering and fatigue. He was them sold to Louis d'Amours, Sieur de Chauffour, who resided at the mouth of the Jemseg, from whom he received his release in June, 1698; sailed from the mouth of the St. John for Boston, and arrived there on the nineteenth of the month, after an absence of eight years, ten months and seventeen days. His subsequent services to the Bay government, within the confines of Maine and Acadia, as Indian interpreter, captain of several garrisons, and otherwise, during nearly half a century, are a matter of conspicuous record. The following selections from the printed narrative of Gyles are given to show the spirit and character of the work.

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[1] For a charming and painstaking account of this fort, as well as Gyles' residence there, see "*The Old Meductic Fort*," by Rev. W. O. Raymond, M. A., in *Collections of New Brunswick Hist. Society*, vol. 1. (1896).

"But to our great Surprize, about Thirty or Forty Indians discharged a Volley of Shot at us, from behind a rising Ground near our Barn. The Yelling of the Indians, the Whistling of their Shot, and the Voice of my Father, whom I heard cry out, What now! What now! so terrified me; tho' he seem'd to be handling a Gun, that I endeavored to make my Escape. My Brother ran one way and I another: and looking over my Shoulder, I saw a Stout Fellow, painted, pursuing me with a Gun: and a Cutlass glittering in his Hand, which I expected every Moment in my Brains: I presently fell down, and the Indian took me by the Left Hand, offered me no abuse, but seized my Arms, lift me up, and pointed to the Place where the People were at Work about the Hay: and lead me that way."

His Arrival at Fort Meductic.

"After some Miles travel we came in sight of a large Corn-Field, and soon after of the Fort, to my great Surprize: for two or three Squaws met us, took off my Pack, and led me to a large Hutt or Wigwam, where Thirty or Forty Indians were dancing and yelling round five or six poor Captives, who had been taken some Months before from Quochecho, at the time when Major Waldein was most barbarously butchered by them. I was whirl'd in among them, and we look'd on each other with a sorrowful Countenance: and presently one of them was seiz'd by each Hand & Foot, by four Indians, who swung him up and let his Back with Force fall on the hard Ground, 'till they had danced (as they call it) round the whole Wigwam, which was thirty or Forty Feet in length. But when they torture a Boy, they take him up between two. This is one of their Customs of torturing Captives. Another is to take a Person by the middle with his Head downwards, and jolt him round 'till one would think his Bowels would shake out of his Mouth. Sometimes they will take a Captive by the Hair of the Head and stoop him forward, and strike him on the Back & Shoulder, 'till the Blood gush out of his Mouth and Nose. Sometimes an old shrivell'd Squaw will take up a Shovel of hot Embers and throw them into a Captive's Bosom; and if he cry out, the other Indians will laugh and Shout, and say, What a brave Action our old Grandmother has done! Sometimes they torture them with Whips, &c."

Comedy Mixed with Tragedy.

"They often had terrible apprehension of the Incursion of the Mohawks. One very hot Season a great Number gathered together at the Village; and being a very droughty People, they kept James and my self Night and Day fetching Water from a Cold Spring, that ran out of a rocky Hill about three Quarters of a Mile from the Fort. In going thither, we cross'd a large

Interval-Corn-Field, and then a Descent to a lower Interval before we ascended the Hill to the Spring. James being almost dead as well as I, with this continual Fatigue, contriv'd to fright the Indians: he told me of it, but conjur'd me to secrecy, yet said he knew that I could keep Counsel. The next dark Night James going for Water, set his kettle on the descent to the lowest Interval: and ran back to the Fort, puffing & blowing, as in the utmost Surprize; and told his Master that he saw something near the Spring, that look'd like Mohawks: [which he said were only Stumps—aside] his Master being a most courageous Warrior, went with James to make discovery, and when they came to the brow of the Hill, James pointed to the Stumps, and withal touch'd his Kettle with his Toe, which gave it motion down Hill, and at every turn of the Kettle the Bail clattered; upon which James and his Master could see a Mohawk in every Stump on motion, and turned Tail to, and he was the best Man that could run fastest. This alarm'd all the Indians in the Village. They, tho' about thirty or forty in number, pack'd off Bag and Baggage, some up the River and others down: and did not return under fifteen Days, and the heat of the Weather being finely [finally] over, our hard Service abated for this Season. I never heard that the Indians understood the Occasion of the Fright, but James and I had many a private Laugh about it."

Saved by a Girl from Drowning.

"Fishing for Salmon at the Fall of about fifteen Feet of Water, there being a deep Hole at the foot of the Fall; the Indians went into the Water to wash themselves, and asked me to go in with them. I told them that I could not Swim. They bid me strip [which was done] and dive across the Deepest place, and if I fell short of the other side they said they would help me. But instead of diving across the narrowest, I was Crawling on the bottom into the deepest Place: but not seeing me rise, and knowing where-abouts I was by the bubbling of the Water, a young girl dove into the Water, and seizing me by the Hair of my Head drew me out: otherwise I had perished in the Water."

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SLAVERY IN CANADA.

By Rev. T. W. Smith, D.D.

Some well-informed Canadians are incredulous respecting the existence of slavery at any time in Canada. The fact, however, that slaves were held in various parts of the territories now included in the Dominion is beyond question.

The first slave sale recorded in Quebec was that of a negro boy from Madagascar, sold by David Kertke in 1628 for fifty half-crowns. Indian slaves, known as Panis, belonging to a distant conquered tribe, were also sold to French Canadians. In 1689 a royal mandate was issued by Louis XIV., giving permission to Canadians to import African slaves, a number of whom they brought from the West Indies. On the transfer of the colony in 1760 to the English crown, it was stipulated that owners of slaves should still be permitted to hold their human property.

It is not probable that any slaves were held by the French Acadians. That any were brought to the earliest English capital, Annapolis, or to Canso, a point of much importance, is uncertain; but at Halifax slaves were found at, or very soon after, its settlement in 1749. Their presence there is clearly proved by an advertisement in the Boston *Evening Post*, in September, 1751:—

"Just arrived from Halifax and to be sold, ten strong, hearty negro men, mostly tradesmen, such as caulkers, carpenters, sailmakers and ropemakers. Any person wishing to purchase may inquire of Benjamin Hallowell, of Boston."

In the *Nova Scotia Gazette*, issued on Saturday, May 30th, 1752, Halifax readers found this notice:—

"Just imported and to be sold by Joshua Mauger, at Major Lockman's store in Halifax, several negro slaves, viz., a very likely negro wench, of about thirty-five years of age, a Creole born, has been brought up in a gentleman's family, and capable of doing all sorts of work belonging thereto, as needle-work of all sorts and in the best manner; also washing, ironing, cooking, and every other thing that can be expected from such a slave: also two negro boys of about 12 or 13 years old, likely, healthy, and well-shaped, and understand some English: Likewise two healthy negro slaves of about 18 years of age, of agreeable tempers and fit for any kind of business: And also a healthy negro man of about 30 years of age."

Among several advertisements of similar character in Halifax papers of that period, but one can here be given, under date of November 1st, 1760 :—

"To be sold at public auction, on Monday, the 3rd of November, at the house of Mr. John Ryder, two slaves, viz., a boy and a girl, about eleven years old ; likewise a puncheon of choice cherry brandy, with sundry other articles."

With the New England settlers, who in 1760–61 came to take possession of the fertile lands whence the Acadians had a few years before been driven, came a number of slaves; but a much greater number were brought by the Loyalists in 1783, at the close of the Revolutionary struggle. Of these Loyalist slave owners, not a few sought new homes on the attractive intervales of the St. John river; others settled in the fertile county of Annapolis; while yet others found at least temporary homes in the new town at the head of the beautiful harbour of Port Roseway, on the southern shore of Nova Scotia. Slaves were also taken by their owners at this period to several parts of the present counties of Cumberland, Kings and Hants; to Halifax and its neighborhood; to the eastern section of the province, and to the islands of Cape Breton and St. John. Additions then made to the lists of slaves in Quebec, as that province is now defined, were not numerous; but to Upper Canada, settled almost wholly by United Empire Loyalists, bondmen not a few were taken. The number of these was somewhat increased in Upper Canada through English legislation in 1790, intended to facilitate the introduction into the remaining British Provinces of persons desirous of removing thither from the United States.

The value of slaves in the British Provinces varied with time and locality. At a sale at Montreal, in 1780, of slaves captured from Whig owners across the border, the Rev. David C. Delisle, the rector, paid twenty pounds, Halifax currency, for "Charles"; and Samuel Judah twenty-four pounds for "Jacob," and sixty for a negro girl. The sums received for others sold at the same time varied in amount, one negro man bringing seventy pounds. In Upper Canada, in 1806, the Hon. Peter Russell, of Toronto, who had previously been Receiver-General of the province, advertised for sale, in the *Gazette and Oracle*, two of his slaves. For "Peggy" the price was one hundred and fifty dollars; for "Jupiter," her son, about fifteen years old, and "tall and strong for his age," two hundred dollars, payable in three years; with

interest from the day of sale, and to be secured by bond, etc. For ready money, one-fourth less would be taken. In Halifax, in 1769, the executors of the estate of John Margerum, deceased, acknowledge the receipt of nearly thirty pounds, "net proceeds of a negro boy sold at Carolina." In their report, in 1770, from the estate of Joseph Gerrish of Halifax, the executors announce a loss of thirty pounds on three negroes appraised at one hundred and eighty pounds, but actually sold for one hundred and fifty to Richard Williams and Abraham Constable. The executors of the estate of Col. H. D. Denson, one of the original proprietors of Falmouth, Hants county, in 1780, stated that for "Spruce" they had received seventy-five pounds, for "John" sixty pounds, and for "Juba" thirty. Two of these were disposed of in Halifax. Among the items of the inventory of the personal estate of the deceased John Rowland, rector of Shelburne, made in 1798, were these: "Samuel, a black boy, thirty-five pounds; William, a ditto, thirty pounds; a girl, twenty-five pounds." In December, 1801, Dr. Bond, of Yarmouth, paid thirty-nine pounds for a man slave, and for a woman slave, a few months later, he gave forty pounds. The sum of thirty-nine pounds was also paid, in 1807, by Simon Fitch, of Horton, to the executors of the estate of Joseph Allison, late of Horton, for "a certain negro woman named Nelly." In St. John, N. B., in 1789, Abraham Treadell, surveyor, sold to John Ward, merchant, also of St. John, "his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever," Toney, a negro boy, for twenty-five pounds. In Westmorland, in 1804, James Law sold a negro boy to Titus Knapp for forty-two pounds; and in 1808 Sarah Allen sold to the same purchaser a mulatto boy named "Bacchus," "in consideration of thirty pounds." From the details of an interesting trial held in 1788 in the Magistrates' court at Shelburne, I learned that Jesse Gray, of Argyle, had sold a negro woman to a citizen of Shelburne for one hundred bushels of potatoes! The court heard the evidence; and, concluding that Gray had been the legal owner of the chattel, confirmed the sale.

Slavery in Canada was of a mild type, like that of the Northern States. Nevertheless, contemporary history and tradition combine to produce instances of great harshness and even of absolute cruelty. On the other hand, however, though Lieutenant Clarkson, on sailing from Halifax in 1792 with twelve hundred free negroes for Sierra

Leone,[1] declared that the black people were considered in Nova Scotia "in no better light than beasts," many facts preserved in parish records show that they were not by any means excluded from the ordinances of religion. An interesting incident in the history of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, is the baptism there, on February 11th, 1784, of twenty-one negroes, slaves of John Wentworth, Esq., later Sir John Wentworth, whom that gentlemen was about to send to Surinam, to labor on a plantation there in which he was interested. It is possible that in some quarters there may have been a certain disregard of the forms of marriage in cases where the slaves marrying were the property of different owners, but several marriages of slaves, as such, are recorded in old parish registers. One may read in that of St. Mark's, Niagara, Ont.: "Married, 1797, February 5th, Moses and Phœbe, negro slaves of Mr. Secretary Jarvis;" and in that of St. George's, Sydney, C. B.: "Cæsar Augustus, a slave, and Darius Snider, black folks, married 4th September, 1788." An occasional record of slave burial also appears in similar old registers. Nor were the ministers of the several churches of that day unmindful of their duty to these bondmen, in some cases at the cost of severe rebukes. The attack of the Rev. James McGregor upon the Rev. Daniel Cock, a slave-holding minister at Truro, and his self-denial to enable him to purchase the freedom of a slave at Pictou, have been well described by the Rev. Dr. Patterson in his memoir of Dr. McGregor.

The causes of the early extinction of slavery in Canada furnish an interesting study. In 1793, through the influence of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, a steady opponent of slavery, a bill was passed by the legislature of Upper Canada, providing that from the date of the passage of the Act no one brought into the province should be subject to the condition of a slave; and giving freedom at the age of twenty-five to every child born after the date of the Act of a negro mother. Through the early manumission of some, and the application of the provisions of the Act to others, only a very few were under the necessity of taking advantage of the Imperial Act of 1833. In the Maritime Provinces several causes combined to bring about the rapid

[1] On January 15th, 1792, Lieut. John Clarkson, a brother of Thomas Clarkson, the well-known English philanthropist, sailed from Halifax for Sierra Leone with a fleet of fifteen vessels, having on board 1,180 negroes, from various parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

decline of slavery. Conscientious scruples led some while they lived to free their slaves, and others to do this in view of death. An important reason also lay in the fact that slavery was ill-adapted to a northern climate, as well as that the character of slave property in the neighborhood of the sea was most uncertain. In the inventory of the estate of Balthazar Creamer, Halifax, a striking illustration of this uncertainty is afforded. The item in the inventory, recorded April, 1796, of a "tract of land at Preston" is followed by "one black man by the name of Benjamin," estimated by the appraisers at sixty pounds; "one black woman by the name of Mary," sixty pounds; "one black girl by the name of Sary," thirty pounds. In a second inventory, required the following year, these items are repeated, with some brief but significant explanatory notes: "One black man, forty pounds, carried off in the Raison frigate; one black woman, ran away at Chester; one black girl, died." But most powerful of all the causes destructive to slavery was the action of the courts of law. The Hon. Thomas Andrew Strange, appointed Chief Justice of Nova Scotia about 1792, had been under the influence of Lord Mansfield, the celebrated jurist, whose decision in the famous Somerset case tended so greatly to the overthrow of slavery in Britain; and Chief Justice Strange not only influenced his successor in Nova Scotia, Sampson Salter Blowers, but also Sir James Monk, Chief Justice of Montreal, whose decision in 1799, in the "Charlotte" affair, may be said to have given the death-blow to slavery in the province of Quebec. Two notable slave trials, the one at Fredericton in 1800, the other in Nova Scotia in 1801, went far to destroy the value of slave property in the Maritime Provinces. About 1806, so Judge Marshall has stated, a master and his slave were taken before Chief Justice Blowers on a writ of *habeas corpus*. When the case itself, and the question of slavery in general, had been pretty well argued on each side, the chief justice decided that slavery had no legal place in Nova Scotia. There is, however, good ground for the opinion that this baneful system was never actually abolished in the present Canadian provinces until the vote of the British Parliament and the signature of William IV. in 1833 rendered it illegal throughout the British empire.

A few of the former slaves may have been taken to Sierra Leone by Clarkson in 1792; some are known to have been sent away and sold in the West Indies; a much larger number were either sent to

the United States or taken thither by Loyalists, who found their way back to former homes after a few years' residence in the British provinces. Descendants of some of the former slaves are yet to be found in Nova Scotia; they are probably more numerous in New Brunswick. A large proportion of the present colored population of the Maritime Provinces are descendants of slaves released from American owners during the war of 1812, and brought northward on English warships: the majority of the colored people of the upper provinces are the children or grandchildren of fugitive slaves, who crossed the Canadian boundary line in search of liberty during the first sixty years of the now closing century.

The story of the "Underground Railroad," as the various pathways of the escaping slave, all ending at the Canadian border, were called, is a thrilling one. It cannot be told here. It is sufficient to say that it is estimated that, previous to the close of the American civil war, not less than 30,000 escaped slaves had found an asylum in Canada. Again and again the American authorities sought by appeals to the British government to secure some treaty compelling Canadian officials to return escaping slaves, but all such efforts were vain. When once the hunted fugitive had "shook de lion's paw," as a colored rescuer aptly phrased it one day, the power of Britain stood between the fugitive and his baffled pursuer.[1]

THE COMBAT AT THE MILL ON LACOLLE.[2]

By Lieut.-Colonel E. Cruikshank.

Two days after his check at Chrysler's Farm, General Wilkinson retired with his army of eight thousand combatants to the French Mills on the Salmon river, and about the same time General Hampton retreated from the Chateauguay to Plattsburg. The presence of so large a force on the frontiers of Lower Canada rendered it necessary to retain a greater body of troops in the vicinity of Montreal than had been anticipated, to protect that town from a sudden raid during the winter. Between Cornwall and Quebec, fully ten thousand men were

[1] This subject of slavery is treated more at length in the monograph of the author on "The Slave in Canada," published as Vol. X. of "Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society."

[2] Near Isle aux Noix on the Richelieu. An event of the War of 1812.

kept under arms, and it soon became evident that the resources of the Province would be insufficient to feed them. Great efforts were consequently made to draw the needful supplies from the enemy's country; which, in fact, proved more successful than could have been reasonably expected. Large quantities of provisions, forage, and grain were quickly brought across the frontier by American contractors, at a time when their own armies seem to have been suffering considerable privation from the lack of these articles. Even a much needed supply of bullion was readily obtained from the same quarter. "The supply of gold or silver during the last twelve months," the Governor-General wrote on the 18th March, 1814, "has been extremely scanty; such, however, as it has been, it has proved of the greatest utility, many articles of indispensable necessity to the troops not being able to be procured without it; and I am in hopes that, either from Halifax or the United States, I shall be enabled to collect a sufficient sum during the present year to meet the demands that shall be made for it, and to lessen the amount of army bills now in circulation."

Less than two months later, Commissary General Robinson reported that he had obtained from the United States since the beginning of the year £150,000 in specie in exchange for bills on the treasury at various discounts from 17½ to 21½ per cent.

It was probably as much a desire to interrupt this extensive commerce with the enemy as the difficulty of subsisting his own army on the Salmon river, that induced Wilkinson to break up his camp at that place about the middle of February, sending one brigade to Sackett's Harbour and removing the remainder to Burlington, Vt. Soon finding that small detachments were insufficient for the purpose, he determined to establish a cordon of troops along that entire frontier. On March 8th, Colonel Clark was despatched with 1,000 infantry and 100 mounted rifles to occupy the country between Lake Champlain and the Connecticut river, while Major Forsyth was detailed with 300 riflemen and 60 dragoons to watch the lines west of the lake, as it was stated, "with a view to cut up by the roots the smuggling intercourse which had been carried on to a great extent, besides it was necessary to prevent the constant supply of provisions which were daily passing to the enemy from this state."[1]

Within a few days Clark received information that an attack was

[1] *Vermont Republican*, 12th March, 1814.

meditated upon his widely scattered force, and General Macomb was sent to support him with an entire brigade. From Chazy, Macomb crossed the lake on the ice in sleighs to Isle La Motte and Swanton. On March 22nd, he entered Canada and took possession of Philipsburg. A small field force was at once collected at St. Johns under Sir Sidney Beckwith for the purpose of dislodging the invaders; but, on March 26th, Macomb recrossed the lake and joined the main body of General Wilkinson's division, which had advanced to Champlain.

By this time the American War Department had decided upon a plan of operations. A body of troops was collected at Batavia, ostensibly for the recovery of Fort Niagara, while five or six thousand men had been assembled at Sackett's Harbour. Information had been received from Kingston that the entire garrison did not exceed 1,200 men: and that the place, with the whole British squadron on Lake Ontario, might easily be taken by a sudden dash across the ice. Accordingly, on February 28th, orders were dispatched to General Brown at Sackett's Harbour to strike at Kingston with his whole force, but first to divert suspicion by moving a portion of his troops inland in the direction of Batavia and bring them back rapidly in time to take part in the proposed expedition. At the same time General Wilkinson was instructed to create a further diversion and prevent the reinforcement of the garrison of Kingston from Lower Canada by an offensive movement on the frontier of that province. On March 27th, Wilkinson reported, "my advanced post is at Champlain on this side. I move to-day; and the day after to-morrow, if the ice, snow, and frost should not disappear, we shall visit Lacolle and take possession of that place. This is imperiously enjoined to check the reinforcements he (Sir George Prevost) continues to send to Upper Canada." Before commencing this movement the inevitable council of war was held, at which it was estimated that the British troops, distributed over a distance of nine miles, consisted of 2,000 regulars and 500 militia; while he had a disposable force of 3,999 combatants, including 100 dragoons and 304 artillerymen with eleven guns. It was decided to attack the post at Lacolle. Orders were issued that the entire division should be supplied with sixty rounds of ammunition and four days' cooked provisions. Let every officer and every man take the resolution to return victorious or not at all; for with double the force of the enemy this army must not give ground. . . . An officer will be posted on the right of

each platoon, and a tried sergeant will form a supernumerary rank and will instantly put to death any man who gives back." Thus read the orders of the day.

As usual, the British force had been considerably exaggerated by report. At the bridge over the Lacolle river, a stone mill, a log dwelling converted into a block-house, and a barn, were occupied by seventy Royal Marines under Lieutenants Caldwell and Barton, a corporal and three men of the Royal Artillery with a Congreve rocket-tube, Blake's company of the 13th Regiment, and a detachment of the Frontier Light Infantry under Captain Lewis Ritter, numbering in all 180 combatants, commanded by Major Richard Butler Handcock of the 13th Regiment, an officer who had been wounded under Abercromby in Egypt and had of late years seen some hard fighting in the Peninsula. At Whitman's house on the Richelieu, two miles away on the road to Isle aux Noix, there was a company of Canadian Fencibles; and at Burtonville, on the River Lacolle, two miles to the right, a company of the Canadian Voltigeurs. Isle aux Noix, seven miles distant, was occupied by 550 men under Lieut.-Colonel Richard Williams, composed of the flank companies of the 13th, and a detachment from the first battalion of Royal Marines; an aggregate force of less than 900, instead of 2,500, as reported. The nearest supports, consisting of the remainder of the 13th, and a weak battalion of embodied militia, were at St. Johns, fourteen miles from Isle aux Noix and twenty-one from Lacolle. The difficulty of assembling a sufficient force in time to repel a determined attack on the advanced post is obvious.

At daybreak on March 30th, a battalion of riflemen occupied Odelltown, and was closely followed by the remainder of Wilkinson's division, composed of the 4th, 6th, 10th, 13th, 14th, 20th, 23rd, 25th, 29th, 30th, and 31st Regiments of United States Infantry, a squadron of dragoons, and two companies of artillery with an eighteen, three twelves, and four six pounders. The advanced guard, composed of the riflemen and 30th and 31st Regiments, was commanded by Colonel Clark, who had already reconnoitred the British position and reported that the mill could be breached by a six pounder. The main body of the American army was divided into three brigades, under Generals Smith, Bissell and Macomb, each consisting of about a thousand infantry. By eight o'clock their advance became known to Handcock,

who sent to Isle aux Noix for reinforcements. The invaders found the main road obstructed in a very thorough manner by trees felled across it, and were led off by their guide on a narrow sleigh path towards Burtonville. They soon came in contact with the outpost in advance of that place, who contested every inch of ground and inflicted a loss of four men killed and seventeen wounded in a very few minutes. After skirmishing for some time, the guide's mistake was discovered, and the head of the column was countermarched to regain the road to the mill. Nearly three hours were lost in this movement. The weather had turned warm, and a rapid thaw set in which soon began to impede their movement. Consequently it was after one o'clock before Clark appeared before the mill, and the troops were much fatigued by needless exertions. The mill was a three-story building, about thirty-six feet by fifty feet in dimensions, constructed of large stones, with an ordinary shingle roof; and stood on the sloping bank of the stream at the southern end of the bridge. Its walls were about eighteen inches thick, and had been loopholed for musketry and the windows blocked up with solid timbers. On the opposite side, a log house and barn had been converted into blockhouses and surrounded with a breastwork. All trees and shrubs had been cleared away for about two hundred yards, or ordinary musket shot. Beyond this on all sides there was a dense wood of small trees and shrubs, from which the ground dipped rapidly down to the river. The Lacolle was still frozen over nearly to its mouth, but the Richelieu was open everywhere.

Clark, with the advance guard, turned off at once to the left and crossed the Lacolle on the ice above the mill, keeping out of musket-shot; and was followed by Colonel Miller with 600 infantry. They occupied the road to Isle aux Noix, and the adjacent woods on either side, cutting off the retreat of the garrison, and preventing the advance of reinforcements from that place by land by interposing a body of at least 1,200 men. The brigades of Smith and Bissell came up and deployed at the skirt of the woods on either side of the road. It was then three o'clock, and the artillery was still far behind. The first intention of the besiegers seemed to be to carry the position by a rush; as the infantry on the south side of the Lacolle advanced from the woods with loud cheers, but were soon driven back with some loss.

Their eighteen pounder had broken down on the road, and the other guns repeatedly stuck fast in snowbanks; but by great exertions

a twelve pounder was brought forward and unlimbered in the road on the crest of the ridge, within two hundred yards of the mill, with the intention of battering in its gable end. In this position the men working the gun were freely exposed alike to rifle fire and rockets from that building. About the same time the garrison was reinforced by the flank companies of the 13th, which arrived from Isle aux Noix at the mouth of Lacolle in two small gunboats, and made their way along that river to the mill without much difficulty. The gunboats then attempted to aid in the defence by shelling the woods, but without any material effect. Sometime afterwards a howitzer was brought up by the Americans, but both their guns were so badly served that during an intermittent cannonade lasting more than two hours only four shots struck the mill, and but one penetrated the wall. The inefficiency of their fire was mainly due to the exposed position of their guns and the steady rifle fire maintained upon them. Captain McPherson, a gallant young artillery officer, who was acting as secretary to General Wilkinson, had volunteered to direct their fire. Being slightly wounded in the chin, he bandaged this hurt and remained at his post until his thigh was shattered by a musket ball. Lieut. Larrabee, next in command, was badly wounded ; and of eighteen men working the twelve pounder only two remained. The guns ceased firing. Handcock then directed Captain Ellard with the flank companies of the 13th to rush out upon the battery, in the hope of disabling the guns before the infantry could come to their support. These companies formed under cover of the bank and advanced most gallantly in line directly upon the guns, but before they could reach them they were assailed by such a storm of musketry in front and from both flanks that it was marvellous that any of them escaped unhurt. Captains Ellard and Henry and Ensign Whitefoord were wounded, and many men killed or disabled ; and all who were able to get away retreated in great disorder. Captain McPherson, in his evidence before a court martial, stated that the " conduct of the enemy that day was distinguished by desperate bravery. As an instance one company made a charge on our artillery and at the same instance received its fire and that of two brigades of infantry."

After some delay, the guns were manned by infantry soldiers, and resumed fire with no better effect than before ; although, as the ammunition of the garrison was nearly exhausted, scarcely any reply could

be made. Two messengers who had been sent to communicate with the gunboats having been intercepted and captured, Private Broome of the Marines, volunteered to make a third attempt. The message was enclosed in lead and placed in his mouth and he succeeded in running the gauntlet of the enemy's fire.

Meanwhile the Voltigeurs from Whitman's, with a few Indians, had joined the Grenadiers of the Canadian Fencibles at Burtonville by a roundabout route; and the whole force moved down the Lacolle to the relief of the besieged post. But the stream had already flooded the roads and in several places, they were obliged to wade to the waist in ice-cold water and mud. However, they moved resolutely forward, and dashed through the gap in the enemy's lines into the mill about an hour before sunset. It was at once determined to make another attempt upon the guns. Lieutenant Barton, of the Marines, offered to lead the charge; and the remnant of the three companies of the 13th, supported by the Fencibles and Voltigeurs, was formed into a column of sections under Captain Blake. This attack was so far successful that they obtained momentary possession of the guns, which were spiked either by the men serving them or by the assailants as they came up. An instant later they were swept back by a murderous fire from the infantry in the woods. They were rallied, and again dispersed. Lieut. Barton fell beside the guns, where he lay apparently lifeless until dark, when he recovered consciousness and crept back to the mill. The dauntless courage of this small party excited the outspoken admiration even of their adversaries. A letter published in the *American Daily Advertiser*, of Philadelphia, relates, "sixty of the British made a rush for the artillery and actually got possession of it, and a grenadier was killed in the act of spiking a gun." Another, quoted in the *Salem Gazette*, (6th May, 1814,) is still more explicit:

"About 300 British made a sally with a view to take a piece of artillery that was playing upon the mill, charged upon our troops and they all gave way except one man. He waited until they advanced within about three feet and then fired the twelve-pounder and made his escape. At the report of the piece our troops took courage and fired from the flanks and the enemy retired to the mill again. However incredible it may appear, 120 men charged our army and they gave way, a fact which no one disputes in this place."

As the gun he had relied upon to effect a breach was disabled, and it was rapidly growing dark, with every sign of a rainy night,

Wilkinson withdrew his artillery with much difficulty and began his retreat. The rising floods which impeded this movement prevented any pursuit except by the Indians, who hung on his rear for a few miles. All night the rain fell in torrents, and a general thaw set in which put an end to the proposed attack on Kingston and rendered any military operations impossible.

The British loss on this occasion was officially stated next day to amount to eleven killed, two officers, two sergeants and forty-two rank and file wounded, and four missing. Corrected returns considerably increased it. The Grenadier Company of the 13th alone lost eight killed and thirty-four wounded, and the total loss of that regiment was thirteen killed and fifty-one wounded.[1] The Americans removed twenty-three sleigh loads of dead or disabled men; and subsequently admitted a loss of thirteen killed, and six officers and 122 non-commissioned officers and men wounded, besides thirty missing.

The efforts of General Wilkinson, and his successor, General Izgard, to prevent the introduction of supplies into Canada, proved equally abortive.

"From the St. Lawrence to the ocean an open disregard prevails for the laws prohibiting intercourse with the enemy," Izgard reported as late as 31st July, 1814; "The road to St. Regis is covered with droves of cattle and the river with rafts destined for the enemy. The revenue officers see these things, but acknowledge their inability to put a stop to such outrageous proceedings. On the eastern side of Lake Champlain, the high roads are found insufficent for the supplies of cattle which are pouring into Canada. Like herds of buffaloes, they press through the forest, making roads for themselves. . . Nothing but a cordon of troops from the French Mills to Lake Memphremagog could effectually check the evil. Were it not for these supplies the British forces in Canada would soon be suffering from famine or their government be subjected to immense expense for their maintenance."

Extravagant as this statement may appear, it is amply corroborated by the correspondence of the Governor-General himself, who observed, in a despatch to Lord Bathurst, on 27th August, 1814:

"In fact, my Lord, two-thirds of the army in Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by American contractors, drawn principally from the States of Vermont and New York. This circumstance,

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[1] Cannon, Historical Record.

as well as the introduction of large sums in specie into this province, being notorious in the United States, it is to be expected that Congress will take steps to deprive us of those resources; and, under that apprehension, large droves are daily crossing the lines coming into Lower Canada."

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, No. II.

By James Hannay, D.C.L.

The battle for responsible government was fought not in New Brunswick alone, but in all the provinces of British North America, for the same evils existed in them all. It was fought not by one or two individuals, but by a body of enlightened statesmen, who recognized the fact that the country would never be content until the system of government was changed. It was opposed by what has been termed the "family compact"; which consisted of friends of the governor, old families who had long filled public offices in the colonies, and who regarded any change in the system which was likely to deprive them and their descendants of such offices as little short of high treason. The governor, who was usually opposed to all reform, was supported by those persons; and, as he had the ear of the colonial office to a much greater extent than any of the men who were agitating for responsible government, it is easy to see that the difficulties in the way of obtaining it were very great. At that time the colonial department was usually presided over by men who knew nothing whatever of the colonies, and who had been brought up under the belief that there was some necessary connection between a colonist and a colored man, and that all colonists were people of an inferior race. There was probably not one man in the colonial office who had ever visited the colonies, or who had ever seen a colonist, except some casual visitor in London. To show how affairs were managed, or rather mismanaged, we can refer to the case of Mr. Henry Taylor, who, when he was very little more than twenty-one years of age, was appointed to an important post in the colonial office, and wrote for a great many years most of the despatches which came to British North

America. Mr. Taylor knew nothing of colonial affairs prior to his appointment; and he does not seem to have known very much about them at any time, for he had no means of understanding colonial feeling; yet this man was able to a large extent to dictate the policy of the government towards the colonies, especially the colonies in America.

As the whole colonial system of goverment was altogether wrong, and as responsible government was involved in nearly every change that was made, it is difficult to describe the contest which led to its full realization by the Province of New Brunswick. Clearly, so long as there was an imperial customs department, so long as the British government retained control of the casual and territorial revenues, so long as the governor was able to make appointments without even consulting his council, and contrary to the wishes of the people, the system of government which permitted such things was utterly defective and unsuited to the requirements of a free people. The first movement against the system was to obtain control of the casual and territorial revenues. An agitation on this subject began as early as 1819, in the time of Lieut.-Governor Smyth. The Lieut.-Governor was strongly opposed to the change, and resisted it in every possible way. The colonial office at first refused to even consider the request of New Brunswick; but after Lieut.-Governor Smyth's death in 1823 a better spirit prevailed, for Sir Howard Douglas, who succeeded him, was a man of enlightened mind and desirous of promoting the prosperity of the colonies in every way. The casual and territorial revenue, which was the revenue derived from the crown land department, was used by the British government for the payment of salaries of provincial officials, many of them being out of all proportion to the services they rendered; and the remainder seems to have been allowed to accumulate without being appropriated. The surveyor-general of that day received upwards of $8,000 by way of salary; more than five times the salary of the present surveyor-general. It was not until several delegations had been sent to England, to represent this matter to the British government, that success was achieved by the transfer of the casual and territorial revenue to the provincial authority. By an act which is known as the civil list bill, which became law in July, 1837, the casual and territorial revenue became the property of the province, the legislature undertaking to pay out of it the sum of £13,393 sterling

for the salaries of certain officials, one of them being the lieutenant-governor, whose salary at that time was $17,500 a year. The surplus of the casual and territorial revenue, amounting then to the large sum of £150,000 sterling, was also handed over to the province at the same time. Thus a very important step was gained in the direction of responsible government.

Another important step towards responsible government was the change which was made in 1833 in the constitution of the council. Prior to that date the council performed legislative as well as executive functions; but in 1833 the British government came to the conclusion that those functions should be separate, and accordingly two councils were appointed, one which was known as the legislative council, which was abolished about ten years ago, and the other the executive council, which acted as the adviser of the governor, and which exists to the present time. The old executive council, however, was a very different body from the present one, because it was not properly in touch with the people; but this beginning made it possible to effect improvements in its make-up, which were impossible of realization so long as the council had legislative functions. It enabled a member of the House of Assembly to belong to the executive council, which was not possible before. The new legislative council consisted of ten members; while the new executive council numbered five members, of whom three were a quorum. This change was not brought about as the result of any particular agitation in New Brunswick at that time, but in consequence of changes of a similar character which were made in the constitutions of all the councils of British North America.

The imperial customs establishment was another grievance which had been long agitated against, but which existed until the year 1848. It seems very absurd that the duties imposed on goods coming into the province of New Brunswick had to be collected by two sets of custom house officers, one set appointed by the imperial authority and the other by the provincial government. The imperial customs establishment seemed to be kept up merely for the purpose of giving a few men very high salaries. By a return which was placed before the legislature in 1828, it was shown that the imperial duties collected at the port of St. John in that year amounted to £15,231; of which sum £4,135, or almost one-third, was paid out in salaries. At St. Andrews, the duties collected amounted to £6,007, of which £2,382 was paid in

salaries. These figures are in sterling money. The salary of the collector of St. John was then £1,500 sterling; or considerably more than double that paid to the present official, who presides over a port which collects annually almost a million dollars in customs duties. This system survived until the year 1848; when it was abolished, and the customs officials, who had been appointed by the imperial government, were pensioned off.

The Lieutenant-Governor, although he had a council, did not always take its advice, and frequently acted without consulting it. In 1845 the province was agitated greatly by the appointment of a Mr. Reade to the post of provincial secretary, an office which had been filled for sixty years by the Odells, father and son. Mr. Reade was the private secretary of Lieut.-Governor Colebrooke, and therefore an utter stranger to the province. The appointment was cancelled as a result of the agitation which it caused; and thus another step was gained in the direction of responsible government.

Singularly enough one of the things which stood in the way of the full realization of responsible government was the reluctance of members of the House of Assembly to give up the right to move money grants. Before responsible government was established a person might rise in his place in the House and move that a certain sum of money should be appropriated for a certain purpose. Such a system could not exist when responsible government was established, because the initiation of money grants by the executive lies at the very foundation of the system of responsible government. The provincial government did not take full control of the initiation of money grants until the year 1855; and from that time down responsible government may be said to have prevailed in this province to the fullest extent.

Under the system now in force the people have the entire control of their own affairs, the government is the creature of the legislature, which is elected by the people, and no government can exist for a day unless it has legislative support. The functions of the governor have been reduced to the formality of signing his name to the official documents. He does not pretend to take an active part in public affairs; and so under this system all the old grievances which formerly existed have been removed, and the people are contented, prosperous and happy.

NOTES ON MADAWASKA, No. II.

By W. O. Raymond, M. A.

The Acadians living on the St. John river, when the Loyalists arrived in 1783, seem to have well merited the term applied to them by the committee sent by Major Studholme, the Commandant at Fort Howe, to investigate the state of settlement of the river — namely, that they were "an inoffensive people." They were also an unfortunate people. From the time of their expulsion from their homes along the shores of the Bay of Fundy, they continued for thirty years to be the football of fortune.

Governor Carleton and his Council decided that it was not desirable to interrupt the continuity of settlement upon the river by English-speaking people; and finding the Acadians had scarcely any of them a legal title to the lands on which they had settled, a proposal was made—in which they seem to have acquiesced—that they should be removed to the upper St. John, where they would be nearer their compatriots of the Province of Quebec. One could wish that on this occasion our government might have been more generous. True, most of the Acadians had settled on the St. John river contrary to the desire and intention of the government of Nova Scotia,[1] and they had no other title to their lands than that of possession. Nevertheless, they had taken no hostile part against the government during the late war, and some of them had rendered important services to Major Studholme. The New Englanders in the townships of Maugerville, Burton and Gagetown had, in numerous instances, improved lands to which they had no legal title, and were allowed compensation for their improvements, although, as a class, they were less loyal than the Acadians; and in some cases even assisted the Americans.

[1] See the following extract:

Secretary's Office, Halifax, 20th August, 1768.

Gentlemen,—The Lieut.-Governor desires that you will give notice to all the Acadians, except about six families whom Mr. Bailly shall name, to remove themselves from St. John's River, it not being the intention of the Government that they should settle there, but to acquaint them that on their application here they shall have lands in other parts of the Province. * * * *

I am, etc.

Richard Bulkeley,

To John Anderson and Francis Peabody, Esqs.
Justices of the Peace for the County of
Sunbury, River St. John.

As stated in a former article, the correspondence between Governor Haldimand and the authorities of Nova Scotia shows that important dispatches were carried over the most difficult and perilous part of the route between Halifax and Quebec by trustworthy Acadian couriers, among whom were the two brothers, Louis and Michel Mercure. The governors at Halifax and Quebec were quite anxious to establish a permanent route of communication by way of the St. John and St. Lawrence, and, in order to further their project, discussed the formation of an Acadian Settlement in the Madawaska region. Governor Haldimand, in his letter to Governor Parr, dated at Quebec, November 27, 1783, observes that he has been informed by Louis Mercure that a number of the Acadians wish to come to the Province of Quebec for the sake of their religion. He suggests that it would be a good plan to establish them at Grand Falls whence the settlement would probably extend to the St. Lawrence. This, he adds, would facilitate communication between the two provinces.

After the division of the old province of Nova Scotia, in 1784, this idea was carried into effect by the government of New Brunswick.

It is related of poor old Jean Baptiste Cyr, who had already experienced many vicissitudes, that when he learned that he must once more abandon his place of sojourn and leave behind him the fruits of years of toil, he gazed sadly upon the fields his hands had cleared and tilled and exclaimed, " Est-ce que le bon Dieu ne fait plus de terre pour les *Cayens?*" (" Can it be that the good God has no place in the world for the Acadians?")

Mournful traditions of the past still live in the Acadian ballads :

Un Acadien errant
Bannit de son foyer ;
Parcourait en pleurant
Les pays étrangers,

Ainsi triste et pensif ;
Assis au bord des flots,
Au courant fugitif
Il adressa ces mots :

Si tu vois mon pays,
Mon pays malheureux
Va dire à mes amis
Que je me souviens d'eux.

To Jean Baptiste Cyr was given the surname or soubriquet of Crock,[1] and his home is believed to have been at or near Crock's Point, above Fredericton. The name of Croc persisted in the Cyr family for some years but has since disappeared.

Governor Carleton seems to have been anxious to keep the Acadians under his jurisdiction and they seem to have reciprocated his desire.[2]

At this time Madawaska was almost an unbroken wilderness, but was known to be a promising location. When one compares the flourishing state of Madawaska to-day and the progress its people have accomplished and are accomplishing, with the little French village, eight miles above Fredericton, it is difficult to think that the removal of the majority of the Acadians in 1786 was other than a providential circumstance. Unfortunately the Acadians were destined to find their new territory a bone of contention between the British government and that of the United States (and as such it remained for nearly half a century); but the controversy did not interfere very greatly with their comfort or prosperity.

It is a curious circumstance that we are largely indebted to the Boundary dispute for our knowledge of the early history of Madawaska.

In the year 1831, the United States Congress sent J. G. Deane to obtain some information about the place. He tells us that he learned, on inquiry, that in the year 1782, Pierre Lizotte, then but a boy of fourteen years of age, found his way to the Indian Village at the mouth of the Madawaska river. When he returned, his report of the country induced his half-brother, Pierre Duperré, to go back with him to trade with the Indians. In 1783 or 1784, they settled on the

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[1] Tradition says that Jean Baptiste Cyr used to manufacture large quantities of maple sugar in the disposal of which he used smilingly to ask his French patrons: "Vont-ils en avoir de quoi a *croquer?*" Little thinking that the name of Croc would stick to his family. Major Studholme's exploration committee in 1783 reported concerning Jean Baptiste Cyr that he had been settled on the river fifteen years; and during the Revolutionary war had rendered assistance to Col. Michael Francklin in restraining the savages from making war against the English. On his removal to Madawaska he was accompanied by his nine sons Jean Baptiste, François, Jacques, Antoine, Firmin, Joseph Olivier, Pierre and Paul.

[2] Lieut.-Governor Carleton wrote Lord Grenville, the English Secretary of State, October 9, 1790, stating that fifty Acadian families had settled about thirty miles above the Great Falls and hearing that it was proposed to place them under the jurisdiction of Quebec, had forwarded a memorial asking to be continued as a part of New Brunswick.

south side of the river St. John, two or three miles below the mouth of the Madawaska. They were the first French residents there. Two or three years later, about 1786, the Acadians near Fredericton, having been disturbed by the introduction of the Loyalist refugees, went up the river, and twenty or more families settled just below Duperré. About 1790, another body of French, formerly settled on the Kennebecasis, came to Madawaska. Both these little colonies received grants from the government of New Brunswick. Later, there came single families. Mr. Deane's account is not far astray.

In connection with the establishment of the settlement, there is some further information in a letter addressed to George Sproule, Surveyor General, by Hon. Jonathan Odell, under date July 14, 1787. Mr. Odell mentions the settlement at Madawaska as in a state of formation and including a number of people from the vicinity of Fredericton and some from Canada. He says: "They have in general terms been directed to settle themselves so as not to inconvenience one another, and in particular so as not to interfere with improvements made prior to their respective settlements. A licence of occupation was given to a number of these people, whose beginning of cultivation and allotment were reported by Lewis Mercure—and these had a promise of a grant as soon as a regular survey could be obtained of the lands—at the same time I apprehend that those who have made, or are making, settlements in that district, though not named in the Licence of Occupation, are not the less entitled to the protection of the government."

There seems to have been some inexcusable delay in making a survey of the lands, and it was not until October 1, 1790, that the grant was issued.[1] The plan of survey in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton was made by Hon. George Sproule and on it he has written: "The tracts represented on this plan being subdivided into lots by the settlers, and considerably improved before an actual survey was made, the irregularities of the measurements of the fronts of the lots could not be altered without great injury to the settlement." In this grant there are 16,000 acres and about fifty-two grantees. The grant began just below the Indian reserve, at the mouth of the River

[1] A grant was made of 213 acres to Pierre Duperré on the 11th June, 1790. This land lay on the south side of the St. John, opposite the lower end of the island below the mouth of the Madawaska.

Madawaska, and extended on both sides of the main river down as far as River Verte, a distance of nine miles.

Another grant of 5,253 acres was made to Joseph Soucier and twenty-three others on August 2, 1794. It extended from the River Verte down the St. John river several miles on both sides. Both these grants lay within the bounds of "the disputed territory" claimed by Great Britain and the United States, and when the international boundary was fixed by the Ashburton Treaty in 1842, the inhabitants found themselves under two separate governments—those on the right bank being citizens of the United States, while those on the other side remained under the jurisdiction of New Brunswick.

In the meantime there had been an interprovincial controversy between Quebec and New Brunswick, which arose about 1787. In the summer of that year Hon. Hugh Finlay accompanied by Samuel Holland, the Surveyor General of Quebec, and George Sproule, Surveyor General of New Brunswick, met at the mouth of the Madawaska to survey the boundary, but they differed so essentially in their ideas as to where the boundary should begin that nothing was done. Mr. Sproule wished to proceed to the portage between Lake Temisquata and the St. Lawrence, while the Quebec surveyor wished to begin at or near the Grand Falls. On this occasion Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General at Quebec, seems to have been more far sighted than his brother, the Lieut.-Governor of New Brunswick. He observes in his letter of August 6, 1787: "It is very immaterial in itself whether a tract of country be called part of this or the other of the king's provinces; but when it is considered that the United States will naturally look upon the termination of our boundary as the commencement of theirs,[1] the subject becomes important.".

The story of the disputes that arose in early times in connection with the rival claims of Quebec and New Brunswick to exercise jurisdiction over Madawaska would take more space than can be afforded in such an article as this. On one occasion Jacques Cyr, who attempted under authority of the government of Quebec to make a seizure of goods, was himself arrested by a sergeant and four soldiers acting under direction of the New Brunswick authorities, and carried to the garrison at Grand Falls. The dispute occasioned much local

[1] That is to the westward between Quebec and Maine.

excitement, and it is clear that the Acadians—whatever their motive may have been—strongly resented the attempt to serve processes of execution from Quebec and showed a decided predilection to be governed by the laws of New Brunswick.[1]

The settlement at Madawaska was not a purely Acadian settlement; it had its Canadian element even at the first, but the Acadians were largely in the majority and may fairly claim to have been the founders of the settlement. In the plan of the first grant, made in 1790, the names of the grantees are in most cases incorrectly written, while in the plan of the second grant of 1794 the spelling is better. In the list of names that follow, the proper spelling is restored. For the division of the original settlers into two classes, according as the family origin is Acadian or Canadian, I am greatly indebted to my Acadian friends, Placide P. Gaudet and Prudent L. Mercure. The first grant, it must be remembered, included both banks of the river St John from the mouth of the Madawaska down to Green river. The grantees of Acadian origin on the New Brunswick side were Louis Mercure, Michel Mercure, Joseph Mercure, Alexis Cyr, Olivier Cyr, Marie Marguerite Daigle, Jean Baptist Daigle, Paul Cyr, Pierre Cyr, Alexandre Cyr, Jean Baptiste Thibodeau, jr., Joseph Thibodeau, Etienne Thibodeau. The grantees of Acadian origin on the American side of the river were Simon Hébert, Paul Potier, Jean Baptiste Mazerolle, jr., François Cyr, jr., Joseph Daigle, sr., Joseph Daigle, jr., Jacques Cyr, François Cyr, Firmin Cyr, sr., Jean Baptiste Cyr, jr., Michel Cyr, Joseph Hébert, Antoine Cyr, Jean Martin, Joseph Cyr, jr., Jean Baptiste Cyr, sr., Firmin Cyr, jr., Jean Baptiste Thibodeau, sr., Joseph Mazerolle. In addition to these there are several grantees, whose descendants claim to be of Acadian origin, and say their ancestors came from the "lower country" (*pays-bas*); but I am not able to determine whether the following are undoubtedly of Acadian origin or not, viz.: Louis Saufaçon, Mathurin Beaulieu, Joseph Ayotte, Zacharie Ayotte, Alexandre Ayotte.

Respecting the grantees who are undoubtedly of Canadian origin, those on the New Brunswick side of the river are Jean Tardiff, Jean Levasseur, Joseph Dumont (or Guimond) and Antoine Gagnier; and those on the American side, Joseph Sausier, Jean Marie Sausier, Jean Baptiste Fournier, Joseph Au Clair, François Albert, Pierre Lizotte, Augustin Dubé and Pierre Duperré.

[1] See Canadian Archives for 1895 under New Brunswick, pp. 30, 31.

The second grant, made in the year 1794, extended from Green river (with many vacancies) to a little below Grand river. Some six names that occur in the former grant[1] are omitted from the enumeration that follows. Several of the settlers in this grant are known to have formerly lived at French Village, on the Kennebecasis. The names of those Acadians who settled on the east side of the St. John are as follows : Olivier Thibodeau, Baptiste Thibodeau, Joseph Thériault, Joseph Thériault, jr., Olivier Thibodeau, jr., Jean Thibodeau, Firmin Thibodeau, Hilarion Cyr, and there seem to have been but two Canadians, viz.: Louis Ouellette and Joseph Souci. Those Acadians, who settled on the American side, are as follows: Grégoire Thibodeau, Louis LeBlanc, Pierre Cormier, Alexis Cormier, Baptiste Cormier, François Cormier, Joseph Cyr, jr , Firmin Cyr, Joseph Cyr, François Violette, sr., and Augustin Violette; and there are three Canadians, viz.: Joseph Michaud, Baptiste Charette and Germain Soucie.

From the list of names now given, an idea may be formed of the relative proportions of the Acadian and Canadian element in Madawaska. At first the former was much the larger, but since then emigration from the Province of Quebec has been so great that probably the Canadian element is now rather larger than the other. Some family names recur frequently in the grants enumerated notably those of Cyr, Thibodeau and Daigle. The Cyr family in Madawaska, N. B., alone, numbers a thousand individuals who comprise one-twelfth of the population of the county. By intermarriages[2] many families today are of both Acadian and Canadian origin. The Canadian families numbered among the founders of Madawaska came from Kamouraska, Témiscouata, L'Islet and a small part of Rimouski county, and chiefly from the following centres: St. André, Rivière Ouelle and L'Isle Verte.

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[1] The names are those of Paul Cyr, Etienne Thibodeau, Jean Martin, Joseph Cyr, jr., Zacharie Ayotte and Joseph Mazerolle.

[2] Prudent L. Mercure informs me that an old lady whose maiden name was Marguerite Blanche Thibodeau, the wife of Joseph Cyr, was known as the "aunt of Madawaska," or simply "Ma Tante la Blanche." She was the aunt of the Thibodeaus, the Cyrs, the Thériaults, the Violettes, etc. She was a woman remarkable for her qualities of mind and heart, and her name has become proverbial, as synonymous with sweetness and goodness.

In my article No. I, the statement is made that the families living on the "French location," below the mouth of the Keswick stream, removed from thence to Madawaska. Placide P. Gaudet has since convinced me that this statement is quite erroneous, and that in fact not one of those living there, so far as known, went to Madawaska.

Many interesting and romantic incidents in the early history of this very charming region on the Upper St. John might be given did the space at my disposal permit. For example, the first recorded marriage was that of Simon Hébert and Josephte Daigle. The marriage was celebrated in an Indian cabin by a missionary priest from Canada.

The remarkable progress of the little colony founded on the banks of the Upper St. John a century ago is seen in the fact that Madawaska, which had then but twenty-four families, has now twenty-four parishes and missions, and twenty-four thousand souls. I shall hope some day to deal more worthily with the subject of this paper.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF LOCAL HISTORY.

By W. F. Ganong, Ph.D.

This series of readings was designed by the editor and the contributors to arouse interest, and a desire for further investigation, in local history. If this object is attained in some marked degree they will feel fully rewarded for their labors. It seems, therefore, appropriate to close the series by giving some suggestions and advice to those who desire to continue studies in the history of their own particular region, especially to those who would like to make their work useful to others, and to contribute something of permanent value to the history of their native land.

To read history which has been written entertainingly and authoritatively by others is interesting and profitable indeed, but it fails in a great part of its value unless it stimulates us to desire to make some return in kind for the pleasure and profit we have received. Most people, however, have the feeling

that there is nothing they can do in original historical investigation, especially if they are shut off from books and lack the means to buy them. There could be no greater mistake. The most marked movement in historical, as well as scientific, investigation to-day, is the tendency to go always to the original sources of information and to examine those sources with the greatest fulness and keenness. In local history, actual facts, however trivial, gathered by observers on the spot, are greatly desired by writers of provincial and county histories ; and all such facts about the history of special places, when gathered carefully and critically, are sure of a much wider and more appreciative audience than one at first has any idea of. Sooner or later such facts find their proper permanent places in the history of the country, and their gatherer has the satisfaction of knowing that he has made some permanent, even if small, contribution to knowledge, and has done something to advance scholarship, patriotism and education. The present writer has been greatly impressed by the value of such local information as can be gathered by any local student, no matter how isolated and limited in facilities, through studies he has carried on which necessitated the gathering of a large number of facts directly from special localities. He has been greatly surprised by the readiness and accuracy with which such facts are gathered by local students when once their attention is directed to the subject, and he has often thought, "how much better it would be if such students would systematically gather and place on record these facts for themselves." The present notes are written to help the earnest local student to know what is important to gather in local history, and how it can best be made permanent and accessible.

Of course some localities are vastly more interesting historically than others ; but there is hardly a place in Canada, hardly a county or a parish, in which there is not a great deal of information to be gathered, which, even though it may be too familiar to be of interest to residents to-day, will at least interest their successors in the future. The main need is for critical, careful, truthful gathering and recording of facts. The investigator should not take as correct everything he hears, but should seek all evidence and weigh it. He should not only crave facts, but should crave conviction as to their truth. And when he places his results upon record, he should be careful to express them in their proper logical degrees of truth, distinguishing those things which are proven from those which are only probable, and these from those that are merely possible. He should seek always confirmation from documents; or, to be more exact, his study should be as largely as possible documentary, and as little as possible traditionary.

The first requisite for any one undertaking such studies is to inform himself well upon what is already known and published about the history of his particular region. He could carefully read, therefore, the best available his-

tory of his province, which, if too expensive to buy for his own library, should be bought for the school library or by the co-operation of the local history club he will form, for it is not well to attempt to study all alone. If the student does not know which is the best history, he should write for advice to the secretary of the historical society in the capital of his province. All of the provinces have historical societies in their capitals, and the secretary, whose name it is not necessary to know in writing to him, will usually be found glad to give full advice to every earnest inquirer. From the same source, also, the student may ascertain what has been published upon the special history of his own county or parish, and he should thoroughly study everything of this kind. It is well for the student, especially at the outset, to select a somewhat limited region for his studies, such as a county or parish, one which he can readily travel over in his holidays, and with which he can make himself personally acquainted.

The history of any region falls into periods, and, for a country like Canada, these are somewhat as follows :

First, there is the geographical position, surface features, climate, soil, natural productions in animals and plants of the region. These features exercise an immensely important part in determining the future history of any country, a part whose significance has only of late years been recognized. Hence any consideration of the history of a region now-a-days begins with a consideration of the physiography and natural history of the country with especial reference to their effects upon its settlement and later history. Indeed, there is no more interesting study than this investigation into the relation between the natural features and productions of a country and its history, present settlement, industries and distribution of population ; and the local student will here find abundant and pleasing material for observation and reflection. Aside from their historical aspects, however, these subjects are worthy of the minutest investigation for their own sakes by those of scientific tastes, and investigators of wider interests always welcome such local studies if carried out in the proper spirit. The present writer has elsewhere given such advice as he can upon this particular subject for New Brunswick.[1]

Second, in nearly all regions in Canada where white men now live, the Indians dwelt before them. Every fact about these Indians and their lives and works is not only already of interest and eagerly sought by students of such matters at the present day, but the facts will become increasingly valued with time, and are all worthy of record. The student should gather data as to the situations of Indian settlements, burial grounds, and routes of travel. Most

[1] Biological Opportunity in New Brunswick. Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, No. XVII, page 131.

regions have abundant traditions to guide him, and he should find out from old residents all that they can remember. Then he should visit the sites and carefully map (by aid of pocket-compass and tape-measure) their exact sizes and positions in relation to neighboring and more lasting objects or places. All relics in the way of arrow-heads, spear-heads, etc., should be collected, described and drawn. They will be highly valued by the provincial historical society, to which they should be presented; and they will bring the donor many a pleasant acquaintance and perhaps gifts of historical publications. All possible Indian names should be collected,—from the living Indians when these exist, from the older settlers if they do not. The Indians can of course point out their ancient settlement and portage sites when all visible traces of them have disappeared. Moreover, all Indians have great numbers of legends, some of them strange and beautiful, such as those which explain remarkable features of the landscape, all of which should be most carefully collected and written down. The student is fortunate if he has Indians near with whom he can cultivate confidence and friendship. They will have a great deal to impart to him that he never yet suspected the existence of. It will be well to construct a map of the district, showing it as it was in the Indian period, with their names, settlements, routes of travel, etc., all marked.

Third, in many parts of Canada, now occupied by English settlers, the French preceded them and were dispossessed by conquest. All traditions of this race should be collected, their place-names ascertained, relics of their presence collected and described, their sites of settlement, dikes, roads, forts, etc., worked out and mapped. All such traces, like those of the Indians, are rapidly disappearing, and should be collected before they are entirely lost.

Fourth, each region had its pioneers, either men of adventurous spirit who loved to penetrate and subdue the wilderness, or, as in many places in Canada, patriots driven from their homes by political changes and forced to begin life anew in the depths of the primeval forest, or sturdy immigrants from the crowded lands of the Old World. All traditions about these pioneers should be carefully collected from their descendants. The places whence, and how, they came; why they left their former homes; the places of their landing and first settlement; their early experiences,—all are historically important, or some day will be. In many cases there are documents relating to these pioneers in possession of their descendants,—grants, diaries, old letters, etc, which are very precious for the light they throw upon early times. These should be borrowed and their important parts copied. One must always be careful to check tradition by documents whenever possible. Tradition is good as a guide to lines in which to work; it is of little value as a final source of authority.

Fifth, and finally, there are the settlers of the present day who are either descendants of the pioneers, or else are new immigrants. The leading events

in the history of these settlers should be recorded, including their part in the development of government, education, transportation, communication, boundaries, agriculture and other industries, religious bodies, patriotic movements, political parties. All of these will interest those who come after us, even though they may seem too well known to be worth recording at present. The development of place-names should be followed also, and all obtainable plans and old maps studied. There is, however, yet another subject of much interest, and attracting to-day no small share of attention among investigators, the folk-lore of a people, that is, their superstitions, stories, belief in signs and portents, etc. These are extremely ancient and widespread ; they throw great light upon important questions of migrations and origins of races, etc., and are all worth collecting and recording. The use of peculiar words or phrases (all such as are not used by educated people), of curious or unusual names for geographical features, interest philologists and are worth preserving.

Here, then, is an ample field for the activities of the most restless student, even in the most out-of-the-way place. But the important question now arises, how can the results of such studies be made available to those who will be interested and will make use of them ? Publishing such local histories in the form of separate books would be very expensive, since the market for them is extremely limited. But here the aid of the local newspaper may be invited. Most country newspapers would no doubt be glad (more than one in New Brunswick has shown itself willing) to publish good matter on local history. The student should therefore carefully write up his material, making it broad enough to be interesting and instructive to local readers ; he should begin with a sketch of the geography and natural history of the region, and then treat the periods in order. Finally he should try to arrange to publish his history in instalments in the nearest weekly paper. Doubtless, in return for contributing the matter, the editor would be willing to print off from the type while standing some 100 copies in pamphlet form, so that when the series is complete, the author would have at least fifty copies for distribution, while fifty could be put on sale at a moderate price to pay part of the expenses of engraving maps, etc. The maps showing the region in different periods, or special historic sites, should be drawn upon a small scale, and reproduced by the cheap but efficient process of zincography; while cuts of specially interesting relics of earlier periods would also add greatly to the attractiveness and value of the narrative. If the author cannot obtain his copies in pamphlet form, he will at least be able to obtain free, forty or fifty copies of each issue of the newspaper as it appears, making this a condition of his contributing. Then his copies of the pamphlet, or else sets of the newspaper, should be sent with the author's compliments to all the prominent historians of the province (whose names may be obtained from the secretary of the historical society), and to several of the leading

public libraries in Canada and the United States, and to the British Museum, all of which will be careful to preserve them. Thus will the history not only be brought to the attention of students elsewhere, and ensured preservation, but it will bring the author many a valued correspondent and many copies of historical publications from those to whom he has sent his own. He will experience the pleasure of entering a new circle composed of men whose acquaintance and appreciation are worth having, and will feel the great satisfaction which always accompanies the accomplishment of something of lasting value. He will acquire, in consequence of his closer study of them, a deeper interest in his fellow countrymen and his native land; and he will enjoy that stimulus, that better understanding of the aims and methods of study, which always accompanies and is one of the best rewards of investigation. Of course he can receive no pecuniary return for such studies; there is no way whatever in which they can be made to pay in money. His reward must be his love of the work itself, his joy in the expansion of his own life, and his pleasure in usefulness to his fellowmen.

COMMENTS.

London, (Ont.) *Advertiser:* * * The editor has struck a novel idea of combining the historical and the literary in supplementary reading for schools. The material has been gleaned by eminent specialists from sources not easily accessible to the general reader. Considering the fact that among the contributors are such men as Sir John Bourinot, Sir James LeMoine and Geo. Johnson, Dominion Statistician, the venture should not only commend itself to those directly interested in school work, but to the general reader as well.

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